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TO THE
EAST-INDIES,
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON
VARIOUS PARTS There.

By JOHN-HENRY GROSE.

L O N D O N:

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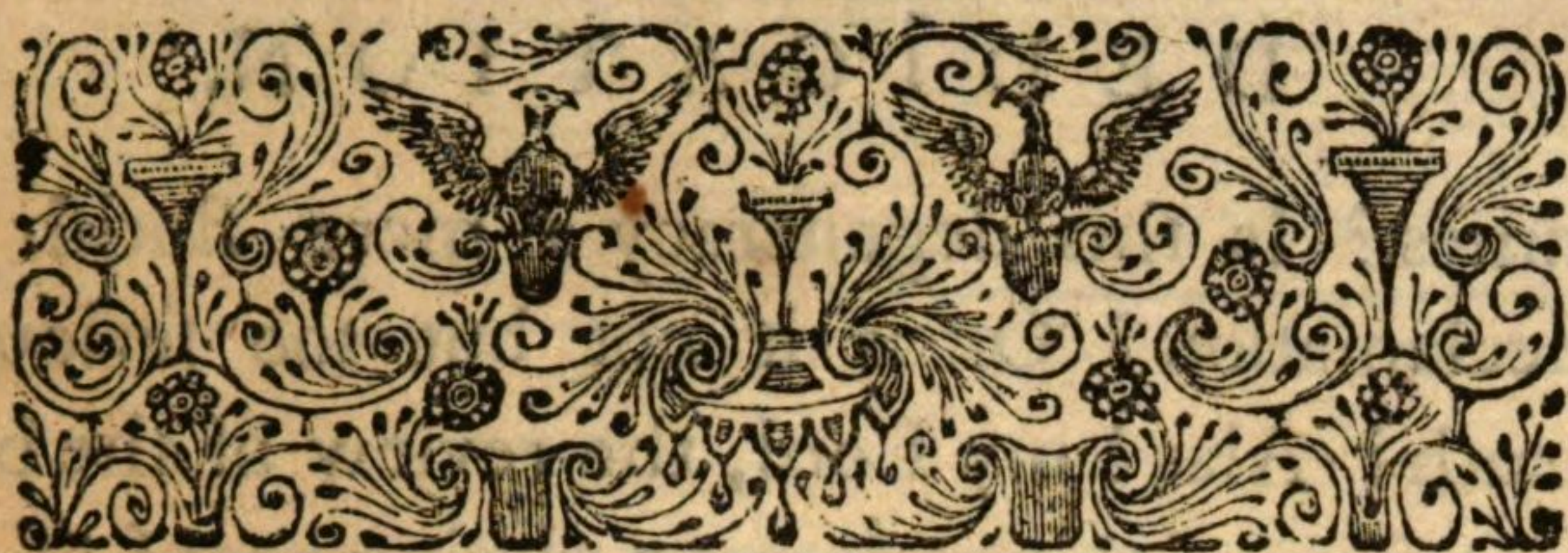
VARIOUS

BY JOHN MERRY

B. O. M. D. W.

Printed by S. H. Moore and A. H. Moore at the
Press of the University of Cambridge

M. B. C. L. N.



T O
GEORGE MONTAGU,
EARL of CARDIGAN,

Baron *Brudenell* of *Stanton Wivill*,
and Baronet, Constable and Lieutenant
of *Windsor* Castle, and Knight
of the most Noble Order of the
Garter.

My LORD,



T a period when the spirit of patronage, which in Britain was once considered by its Great as their most honourable distinction, can now hardly be said not to be extinguished, perhaps not less to their own detriment, than to that of the arts and sciences themselves, which suffer for want of their countenance ; how noble, how just a matter of congratulation does your Lordship furnish me, for your standing forth, at least one illustrious exception to the degeneracy of the times ?

DEDICATION.

times? Is this degeneracy a mere flourish of declamation? Or is it not but too serious a truth? Alas! my Lord, the review of the present state of things forms a glaring proof of it.

COULD the nation have ever sunk to the degree we see it sunk, in every point of merit, literary, military, or social, if the cause of this decay had not taken birth amongst those, of whom the rank and fortune establish the contagious influence, give the lead, and set the fashion of worthlessness, with so high a hand? My offering then this melancholy remark to your Lordship, instead of the usual fulsome strain of dedications, carries with it less of merit to your Lordship for doing you merely the justice of the distinction, than to the Public, which can never, but with pleasure, see that justice done to such of the nobility as are superior to the prevailing vulgarism, and insensibility to true taste and true honor, which has so nearly degraded and corrupted its mass.

I am, with the profoundest respect,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S most obedient,

and most faithful humble servant,

JOHN-HENRY GROSE.

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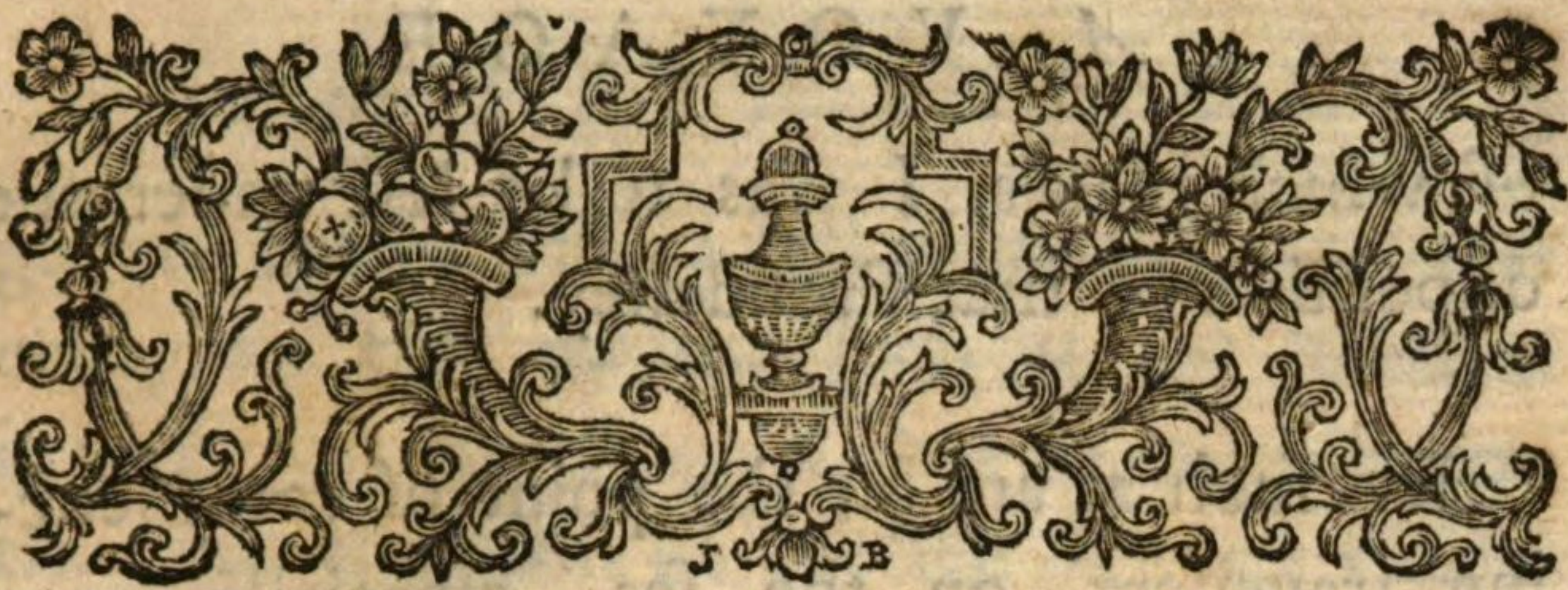
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V O Y A G E
T O T H E
E A S T - I N D I E S.

C H A P. I.

Voyage from the Downs to Johanna.



T was in the station of a covenant servant, and writer to the East-India Company, that in the month of March, 1750, I embarked on board one of the Company's ships, named the *Lord Anson*, Charles Foulis, Commander, bound for Bombay and China ; at the former
B of

of which places, I was to be left under the disposition of that Presidency.

By such as are on the point of commencing travellers, on the sea, especially upon a voyage, in which so long intervals occur between land and land, the following general hint will not, I hope, be thought impertinent. They will then certainly find their account, in framing, before they are embarked, a list of such necessaries, as they may probably want in the course of the passage, concerning which they will do well to take the advice of such as have been the like voyage before, and, who by their own knowledge, and experience, will be best qualified to inform them, not only of the most material requisites, but even of sundry little items, which to name here might seem trifling, and of which the miss however is serious, when out at sea, where it is not often easy to repair one's improvidence.

ANOTHER caution, too, as trite a repetition as it may appear, I am induced not to omit re-inculcating, for having observed it commonly neglected: and that is, for such as have reason to apprehend the sea-sickness, not to
go

go on board with a full stomach: not that even, by this means, such as are liable to it, will wholly escape it, but so much is certain, that they will be affected in a less violent degree. And when under the influence of it, as it is necessary to eat and drink, not only to support nature, but to avoid the dangers of over-straining and reachings of an empty stomach, the lightest, and most digestible foods, are the most preferable.

ON the 30th of March, 1750, we sailed out of the Downs, in company with four East-India-men; but as there nothing occurs material to be remarked of these our consorts, some of whom soon after parted company, I shall say no more of them.

WE were then soon out of sight of British land, and got into the main-ocean; and as it could be but tiresome to the reader unversed in navigation, and superfluous for one who understood it, to be detained by a dry uninteresting journal, of winds, courses, and the like common occurrences at sea, I shall only offer those points which are of a more general nature, to the curiosity of the reader: and

even then have an apology to make for the unavoidable repetition of descriptions, with which a number of travellers, who have preceded me in this subject, seem to have exhausted it. All the novelty then that can possibly be expected, in a voyage now so trite, and well known, must arise from the different points of view, in which nature presents the same objects to different persons, or at least often, so as to afford some new light to be thrown upon them.

As the fishes then form no small part of the entertainment, in the course of the passage, I shall begin with them, just premising, that besides the usual tackle of lines, and hooks of all sizes, there are no ships on those voyages, but are equipped with a competent number of harpoons or fish-gigs. This is a long staff, armed at one end with a cluster of well tempered iron prongs, which being barbed hinder the fish, on being struck with it, from flouncing off. The other end is heavily cased, or wrapped round with lead, so that when delivered from the striker's hand, with a line to it that runs the length of the staff, it serves, by its weight, to cant the fish upmost, in a position

position the most favorable to bring it on board.

THE flying-fish, are most generally seen within the tropics, or in the latitudes near them. Their size is, commonly speaking, that of a large herring, to which they have some resemblance. The over-proportioned size of their side-fins, countenance very clearly the opinion of their being assisted by them, in the spring they make out of the water, on being pursued by the larger fishes of prey; as those fins continuing spread must naturally gather some air. But I much doubt, whether what is called their flight is not more properly an extended leap (like that of the flying-squirrels on shore, to whom the expansion of a membranous fold, that makes part of the skin of their hind legs, serves for a kind of wings) and that their necessity of replunging into the water, is not so much owing to their fins drying, in so short a space as 25 or 30 yards, and requiring wetting a-fresh, as to the force of their spring being spent. There are many fish, besides them, that take very considerable leaps out of the water, though not of such a length as they do, from their side-fins not being so well-adapted

for a continuance of a motion, compounded of flying, and leaping. So far is certain, that they have no guidance from their sight, but are urged headlong onward by a mechanical impulse, infomuch that they not unfrequently fall into ships, and especially in the chains, which being lower than any part of the gunnel, stop, and receive them. They are a very well-tasted fish, and often seen in great shoals, flying from the pursuit of the Bonitos, Albacores, and Dorados, whose choice prey they seem to be, very few of those fishes being caught, without some of them being found in their stomachs, and accordingly the best baits for those species are an imitation of the flying-fish, which being swung to-and-fro, represent their flight, so as to deceive and bring them greedily to the hook. Nor does this fish find enemies only in its own element; for several sea-birds, watch hovering for its emerfion, and dart down on it, with such quickness, as to make it their prey, before its re-plunge, so that it suffers a fatal persecution in both elements.

It was not till about the latitude of thirty, that we saw and caught several Bonitos, a
fish

fish of the size of a middling salmon, to which it is not unlike, but rather thicker for its length. This fish undoubtedly takes its name, from its relishing so well to the taste of the Portugueze, the first navigators on this ocean, that they called it Bonito, which answers in our tongue to delicious. Not that, in effect, it is remarkably so, but very probably, was so welcome to the first captors of it, perhaps on the dearth of fresh meals, that they honoured it with that appellation, which has continued to it ever since. It is a very firm, and not unpleasant fish, but rather dry, and requiring a rich sauce, to entitle it to its name: but dryness is a reproach that in some degree belongs, generally speaking, to those species, that may properly be called ocean-fish: to which it is no contradiction to observe, that they are sometimes taken near the land. The Bonito feeds upon all small fish, but especially the flying-fish, with the imitation of which they are often caught, and often stuck with the fish-gig.

THE Albacore, is another fish of much the same kind as the Bonito; but grows to a much larger size, some being taken especially by the

hook, from sixty to ninety pounds weight and upward. The name of this fish too, is taken from the Portugueze, importing its *white color*. They are rather drier eating than the Bonito. For the rest, their prey, and method of catching them is the same, and both are at certain seasons infested with a worm, that makes them in an agony, spring out of the water, so high as to fall into boats, when in the way of their leap.

WITH respect to the Dorado, it may be observed how difficult it is, for an appellation, when once fixed, however wrongfully applied, to be shaken off, or corrected. It is no new, but certainly a just remark, that this fish is very improperly called a Dolphin, having not the least resemblance to the description, or delineation of that fish, by authors, painters, or statuaries. The Portugueze however gave it the name of Dorado, from its golden-like hue, which is the ground-work of a beautiful azure, that is blended with it: and, in truth, nothing can be imagined of a more lively gloss than its colors, which however, on the fish being taken, fade off sensibly in a few minutes, adding one more striking instance

stance of the alterations produced by death in all the animated creation. This fish, which is caught exactly in the same manner as the Bonitos, or Albacores, their food being the same, is generally greatly preferred to them, in point of taste. Their size is commonly about three or four foot, and delicately shaped; except that the head seems rather too large, though the chief bone of it, on dissection, appears admirably modelled for a cut-water; and, indeed, they swim with an inconceivable rapidity.

HAVING however, as I conceive, very justly divested the Dorado, of the appellation of Dolphin, the point is where to place it more properly: and I apprehend, that the fish now called Porpoises can only lay claim to it. Some however deny this, and insist on the dolphin being a creature of the imagination, not only on the account of the fabulous properties, attributed to it by the antients, such as taking the famous musician Arion on its back, its tameness, and likings to human society, of all which distinctions there exist at present no traces, but also in respect to the curve form of it, as preserved in paintings,
and

and statues, being different from the porpoise, which when taken appears as straight a fish as any that swims. Without presuming to decide the question, I can only say, that it can hardly be thought, that so many authors would have treated so currently of a species entirely non-existent, however some of them might mix the false, and marvellous, in their accounts of it: and as to the form, the difference arising from the curvature, is probably owing to its being constantly represented in the point of leaping, when either the eye is deceived by the quickness of the tumble, or the porpoise really bends the body, in a manner answerable to the usual delineation of the dolphin, which with the similar projection of the snout, from the head, seem to authorize in some degree the conjecture of the porpoise, being no other than the dolphin of the antients; at least, it is not so thoroughly different from the representation of it, as the Dorado, the size of which besides, is much too small, for its having any pretention to pass for it.

THE shark, which is so common a fish near the land in several parts of the lower latitudes, is not unfrequently met with in the main-sea, but

but then it is chiefly in calms, or very light breezes, when it will follow a ship for a considerable time, unless betray'd to the hook by its natural voracity: for it is commonly too large to be mastered by a harpoon, or fish-gig. Any thing almost for a bait will serve; but it not only requires a strong hook to hold it, but, those of the larger size, the noose of a running-tackle to bring them on board: where, as soon as they touch the deck, they make all shake again with the violent flounces of their tail, capable of breaking a man's leg. But they are presently subdued by a cut of the ax on it, which deprives them instantly of all power, so that they are soon dispatched. The common length of this fish is from nine to fifteen feet; but I have been credibly informed, there are of them of twenty and upwards. It has no scales. The skin of it is rather rough, like shagreen, than very hard, of a deep brown, and somewhat greenish color, and whitening by degrees to the belly. One of them will generally make a meal for the whole ship's company; but then they are the ranker, in proportion to their size, and at best afford but an indifferent repast: the fins only excepted, which though covered with a
skin

skin hard enough to be used as a slate to write on, when jerked, or dried in the sun, afford however when prepared, according to the Chinese cookery, a very delicate dish. They cut them out in strips, or rather filaments, which when seasoned in their manner, are stewed into a tender gristly substance, extremely well-tasted, and which is by them esteemed one of those rare provocatives to venery, which at once stimulate, and strengthen.

THIS fish must however have been much more effectually the terror of the seas, had nature endowed it with an agility, and disposition of parts, answerable to that of its voracity, which is so especially assisted with a dreadful triple row of teeth, as sharp as razors. But, besides its not being the swiftest swimmer, its mouth, by being placed considerably within the projection of its snout, towards the belly, obliges it to turn on its back, or at least sideways to snap at its prey, which it does so heavily, that good swimmers will, with a knife, either for diversion, or for the sake of shewing their skill, attack it in its own element, and diving under the belly, where the skin is very soft, rip it open, or oblige it to
sheer

sheer off. How they engender cannot be ascertained, but it is certain, that the females are not only viviparous, the young ones being found alive in their bellies, when taken, but they occasionally afford them a retreat in it, till they out-grow the size of wanting one.

THERE is also another sort of them, called the bottled-nosed sharks, of a dark bleuish hue, but of those I never saw any caught, and being looked on as not fit to eat, they are rarely meddled with, unless purely for sport.

THIS fish too has, like its name-fakes the human sharks, on the land, its dependents, or under-suckers, as well as its scouts or guides to its prey.

THE sucking-fish then aptly enough represents the first, being a small fish, rarely above a foot long, and often much shorter. They fasten upon the shark, by the means of an oval-shaped membrane of a texture, admirably adapted for that purpose, with which they stick so close to the skin of the shark, commonly on its sides or back, as not to part with it, even when it is taken, and no strength of hands

hands can hardly separate them, if pulled against the grain of the sucker; but sliding them on forward, with the grain, they easily enough come off; and this force of adhesion continues whilst there is any life in them, as may be proved on applying them to a table, or any hard substance. It doubtless annoys the shark in the nature of vermin, drawing its sustenance from the slimy oozing of its body, whilst it can neither shake it off, nor come at it to destroy it. The gills of it are placed in an inverted position, opening upwards. It is of a dull muddy slate-colour, and of no use for food, having neither substance, nor taste.

THE other species of attendants on the shark, are what is called pilot-fish, which some writers have confounded with the sucking-fish, though of quite a different species; being perhaps one of the beautifullest fish that swims: seldom above a foot, or a foot and a half long, streaked transversally, with blue, and a yellowish brown, that have a very pleasing effect in the water, but lose much of their lively gloss when taken. These fish are ofteneft seen in small shoals, swimming immediately a-head of the shark, or near him.

When

When a bait is thrown out for the shark, they cluster to it, without attempting to nibble themselves, but by their motions to and fro, seem to guide the shark towards it, from whence they derive their appellation of pilot-fish. When in company with the shark, they rarely take the small hook themselves; but when they have lost this their consort, or follow a ship, either singly or in shoals, they will then sometimes bite, and be caught. They are esteemed, for their size, the most delicious eating that the ocean affords, having nothing of that dryness reproachable to the other fish of it, as before observed.

THERE are also often caught, with the hook, or harpoon, a fish, called *yellow-tails*, from the color of that part, from one to three or four foot long. They are very eatable, but inferior in point of taste and beauty of color to the Dorados, which they otherwise much resemble in their make.

As the above-noted species of the fish-kind are what chiefly occur in the passage, I imagined, I could not without impropriety entirely omit them, and, for the same reason,
shall

shall just make a summary mention of the sea-birds, that are most commonly observed in the track of this navigation.

NEAR, or within the tropics, as the term imports, are often seen what are called tropic-birds : white, of the size of a large hawk : with nothing remarkable but a length of feather, that proceeds from their tails.

ALBATROSSES, which are met with more frequent, as you approach the land, are a very large bird, and from their size, received from the Portugueze, the name of *Alcatruz*, or *Ostriches* (having no other resemblance to that bird) from which, by corruption is derived Albatross. These are the birds, which are the most cruel enemies to the flying-fish : and their beak is so sharp, that it enables them, as they dart down on the wing upon any fish, they see on the surface of the water, to scoop out a piece of it, when too large to carry the whole away.

THE noddies and boobies, being of the size of a large duck, plainly receive their name from their filliness, in suffering themselves to
be

be taken by the hand, as they perch upon the yards, or other parts of the ship: which cannot be from weariness, being web-footed. For the rest they are too tough, and fishy, to be eatable.

THURSDAY the 10th of May, we saw a water-spout, which burst very near us. Its first appearance resembled a black smoak, somewhat in the shape of an inverted pyramid. This is a body of water, collected between a cloud and the surface of the sea, but we had no occasion to fire at it, which is often done to dissipate it by the explosion. They are sometimes many minutes in falling, and irritate the water to that degree, as to produce a great ebullition and foam. If it bursts on the deck of a ship, it will go near to sink it with the great weight of water, with which it is pregnant: but, I believe, there are few instances known of such an accident, this phenomenon being always in the day-time, and the danger easily avoided, by forcing its dispersion, or steering clear of it.

Besides that, and the common incidents of land-falls in our way, we had no remarkable
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occurrence, unless that Thursday the 7th of June, as one Stedman, the carpenter's mate, was about some little jobb, on one of the ship's sides, and being careless in his hold, a large wave came suddenly, and washed him into the sea, immediate notice of which being given to the captain: we brought to all standing, and threw over a large grating, and an empty cask, of the latter of which he luckily got hold, and the boat being expeditiously hoisted out, and manned, they were just time enough to save him. Though he was allowed to be an excellent swimmer, the sea was so prodigiously rough, that he could scarce have kept a minute longer on the cask, without being washed off. We were going at the rate of seven knots (miles) an hour, when this accident happened, which made the saving him a very hazardous point.

Saturday the 28th of July, we anchored happily in the road of Johanna, having been now near four months since our departure from the Downs.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

Account of JOHANNA.

THE view of this island to those on board-ship in the road, is of itself so extreamly pleasant, as not to need the circumstance of its being a landing-place, after so long a run, to recommend it. The hills high, and covered with ever-greens down to the water's edge, and disengorging to the sea, in a delicious valley, altogether form one of the most pleasing landshapes that can be imagined, nature there luxuriating into a romantic wildness, with which the eye, if not more delighted, is at least less apt to be satiated than with the tame insipid regularity of art. The ship was no sooner anchored, than surrounded with a number of canoes, hurrying on board with refreshments of all sorts, of the produce of the island; and it was humorous enough to mark the confusion, and strife, amongst the rowers, for who shall get first to their market, the ship. They are sometimes overset, when the sea is any thing high; but, without any danger to their persons, being excellent swimmers,

mers, and lose only their little cargoes of green-trade. These canoos most of them are ballanced on each side with out-leagers, composed of two poles each, with one across, to prevent their oversetting. They use paddles instead of oars: and make no distinction of head or stern. Their larger boats, called panguays, are raised some feet from the sides with reeds and branches of trees, well bound together with small-cord, and afterwards made water-proof, with a kind of bitumen, or resinous substance. The mast (for few have more than one) carries a sail or two, which is made either of coconut leaves, or sheer-grass matted together, and in these boats they will venture out to sea, for trips of three or four weeks, and sometimes longer.

It was common, not many years ago, for the natives who came off with refreshments to the ships, such as fresh coconuts, plantains, fowls, goats, &c. to deal entirely by way of barter, for handkerchiefs, rags, glass-bottles, bits of iron, in short, all sorts of frippery, without any respect to money. But of late they begin to know its value, and it is only the most inconsiderable articles, that they will
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now part with, in that manner, and still afford every thing cheap enough, not to be repined at.

JOHANNA is one of the five Comro islands, which take their name from the largest island Comro, the other four being distinguished by the names of Mayotta, Mohilla, Angazeja, and Johanna. This last lies in the latitude of 12 degrees, fifteen minutes south: all of them opposite to the African shore, between which, and the great island of Madagascar, is formed what is called the Mozambique-channel, from Mozambique a small island belonging to the Portugueze, where they have a very considerable settlement, close upon the continent, in the latitude of 14 south.

COMRO, the largest island, is not at all frequented by the Europeans: not only on account of there not being a safe harbor, or roadstead to it: but, of the natives having the character of a barbarous, untractable people, that will suffer no commerce with strangers. Perhaps too, not without reason: as it was too common for the Portugueze especially, in the early times of their navigating those seas,

to take the advantage of the simplicity of the inhabitants, unacquainted with arms, and incapable of defence, and land parties out of their vessels, to rob, and commit all manner of outrages on the natives, not unfrequently carrying them away slaves, a procedure, which may have given them a traditional aversion to, and jealousy of all strangers in general: and very probably the revenge they might thereon take on the next comers, without distinction of the innocent, may have gained them that inhospitable character, which is to this day continued to them.

MAYOTTA, Mohilla, and Angazeja, are also little resorted to, on account of the superior advantages of Johanna, in the safety of its roadstead, which joined to the more civilized disposition of its inhabitants, have nearly engrossed the custom of the Europeans touching there for refreshments.

ON a ship's arrival, and anchoring there, on the west side of the island, where the road is; it is the common practice to pitch a tent ashore, made of the sails and spare-booms, for the reception of the sick, who tho' never
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so much disabled with the scurvy, generally recover their health surprizingly quick, as much doubtless by the specifically reviving influence of the earth itself, as even by the variety of excellent refreshments, with which the country abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruits, all admirable in their kinds, and the fresh water perfectly good. The danger is for the common sailors, who arrive well and in health, lest they should by their intemperance, especially in the raw fruits, contract, or lay foundations for distempers to break out when they get to sea again.

It has been said, that the lying ashore is prejudicial, on account of the moist vapors diffused from the neighboring hills, but I rather think the unwholsomeness to consist chiefly in the insufficiency of the lodgment under a tent, to resist the keenness of the night air, and the damps of the atmosphere, rising directly from the earth itself; but this I submit to the judgment of the physicians.

FROM the spot where the tents are pitched, is not above a short mile's walk along shore, to what is called the town of Johanna,

to come at which you cross over a small rivulet; very near it. This town, or more properly speaking, village, is composed of about two hundred houses and huts together. Those which being of stone, may perhaps deserve the name of houses, belong to the chief, who is honored with the title of king of Johanna, and to the principal men of the country. Their best buildings, at least all that I saw, are but of one story, and even those very low. They suffer strangers to come in familiarly to their first apartment, all the others being reserved for their families. The house where the king resides is built of stone and mud, and does not make a figure superior to a common English alms-house, being wretchedly furnished, awkwardly hung with pieces of coarse chintz, with here and there a small trumpery looking-glass. Yet with all this inferiority of parade and state, in comparison with what is seen in more extensive and civiliz'd dominions, the title of king is not so absolutely improper to the chief of this island, which contains, on a gross guess, about thirty leagues in circuit, seventy three villages, and near thirty thousand inhabitants; he having all the essentials of royalty, an unlimited power

power over his subjects, both in temporals and spirituals.

THE grandfather of the present king, if I may then have leave to use that term, was an Arab, or moorish trader to Mozambique, where, on a quarrel with a Portugueze fidalgo, or gentleman, with whom he was dealing for slaves on that coast, he had the fortune to kill his adversary, and was thereon obliged instantly to fly, and put to sea in the first boat he could seize on the shore, when the first land he made was Johanna, where he took refuge. Here meeting with an hospitable reception, he remained some years in obscurity, till an Arab trunky being driven in there by stress of weather, he made himself known to his countrymen, for whom he procured all the relief the place afforded.

IN the mean time he had so perfectly acquainted himself with the language, and manners of the inhabitants, and was so taken with the fertility, and pleasantness of the country, that he not only laid aside any thought of returning to his own, but laid a scheme to obtain for himself the sovereignty of it, in which
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he was greatly countenanced and assisted by the Arabs his countrymen, who came into his views, for the advantage they expected to reap from his success.

He proceeded not on a plan of violence, but of insinuation, in making himself necessary to the natives, whom he instructed in the use of arms before unknown to them, especially the zagay or lance, which those of any consideration amongst them, now handle with great dexterity. This then, with other methods of war which he taught them, entirely new to these simple savages, proving of singular service to them, against the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, especially of Mohila, with whom they had constant bickerings, sometimes invading, and sometimes invaded, acquired him such a consideration and authority, that he soon availed himself thereof, and procured himself to be elected their chief or king, and invested with a despotic power. Yet this was not obtained but by degrees, and by great art: themselves too being divided amongst one another. As soon, however, as he had carried his point, he made them repent of their credulity and confidence. For
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not only strengthening himself by calling in some of his countrymen with their families, but choosng for his guards the most bold and determined of the natives, he was presently in a condition to establish an arbitrary government. Such as endeavored to oppose him in his pretensions and innovations, he forced from their families, and sold for slaves to the Arabs, who, on this alteration, encreased their resort there for trade, which they still continue. In short, he succeeded so entirely, as to overcome all opposition, and to bequeath the peaceable sovereignty to his son, who was about forty three years of age, when this his father died, and who had no farther trouble, or contestation with his subjects, till he also dying, a few years ago, left two sons, of whom the eldest is at present the governing chief.

WHEN a ship arrives, it is necessary to obtain his licence for dealing with the natives, for especially the greater articles of refreshments, such as goats and oxen, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men: the permission for which is however purchased at a very reasonable expence, of a few presents

sents of some yards of scarlet cloth, a little gun-powder, a few muskets, or other European commodities.

As the soil is of itself so naturally fertile, as to produce every thing they covet for food, so their constitutional indolence or laziness keeps them satisfied, without any attempts at improvement, by tillage or cultivation. The Arabs, who have also extended their controul to the neighboring islands, which are in some sort of subjection to them, find it worth their while to come to Johanna in their trunkys, which are a kind of uncouth vessels, of seventy to a hundred tons, and carry back loadings of cocoa nuts, with some cowrys, a kind of shells, which are an article of trade, and perhaps a very few slaves: and it is from them that the Johanna-men have lately learnt the needfulness of money, in purchases from them, of coarse piece-goods and other India commodities.

THERE are doubtless too, amongst the infinite variety of plants, which the earth yields there in a wanton profusion, some valuable simples, of which the power and salutary virtues

tues remain unknown for want of a sufficient botanical enquiry, which I am induced to mention from one of the natives there, having made himself very useful, by the little skill and knowledge he has acquired in them, purely by dint of his own natural genius, without any assistance of education. This man, now much advanced in years, and known by the nick-name of Purser-jack, speaks English very fluently, and is readily serviceable in all intercourse with the natives. But what he is chiefly considered for amongst them is this, his uncommon knowledge of medicinal plants, by which he has done surprizing cures amongst them, and what is more, without fee or reward.

THE second day after our arrival, having an inclination to go up into the country with another English gentleman, a passenger in the Benjamin, captain Meard, I applied to this man for a guide, who accordingly procured us two stout fellows, that understood a little broken English, as indeed many of them do, who have any dealings with the shipping.

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As we fet out pretty early in the morning, we made a shift to penetrate about five miles into the country before the sun began to be any ways troublesome ; and this was no small stretch, considering the mountainous way we had to go. We had fowling-pieces with us, and the view of excellent sport in shooting, could we have reached the places where we might perceive the game lay. But we could not conquer the ascent of the hills, though we endeavoured to scramble up them on our hands and knees. We were therefore obliged to rest satisfied with what small birds presented themselves, in the vallies and hills that were passable. We made our breakfast on pine-apples, and the milk of cocoa nuts, which served to quench our thirst. About noon coming to a beautiful piece of water, we seated ourselves in the shade by the banks of it, to make a second meal, as well as to enjoy the tinkling of several little springs, and natural cascades, that fell from the rocks, and according to their distance seemed to sound a gradation of notes, so as to form a kind of agreeable soothing water-music.

THE orange and lime-trees, which stood in great numbers about that spot of ground, bending under the weight of their fruit, diffused a most fragrant odor. There were also pine-apples which grew wild, of eleven and thirteen inches circumference, of a much richer flavor, than those I afterwards met with in India. Our guides too made us distinguish a number of goyava, and especially plumb-trees, the size of whose fruit is about that of a damascene, and leaves a pleasing relish on the palate for some minutes after it is eaten. All these growing promiscuously, and without the least arrangement or order, combined with the falls of water, and the stupendous height of the surrounding hills, covered with trees and verdure, and in their various breaks and projections, exhibiting the boldest strokes of nature, altogether composed what might, without exaggeration, be called a terrestrial paradise, compared to which the finest gardens in Europe, with their statues, artificial cascades, compartments, and all the refinements of human invention, would appear poor indeed! here it was impossible for art to add any thing, but what would rather spoil than adorn the scenery.

It

IT was not then without regret that we quitted so charming a spot, after having feasted our eyes with the beauties of it, to which it may be mentioned as no inconsiderable addition, that there was no fear of wild beasts, or of venomous creatures mixed with our pleasure, the island being so happy as to produce none. We returned then to our tent, well paid for the slight fatigue we had undergone in this little excursion.

THE king resides for the most part about nine miles, according to their computation, up in the country, seldom coming down to what they call their lower town, on the sea side, but when the European ships are laying there, and is then accompanied by a numerous retinue.

WHEN he comes on board our vessels, which he rarely misses, he always expresses a great desire of knowing the name of every thing that is new to him, and as he has a tolerable smattering of the English tongue, is very inquisitive concerning our wars in Europe, and is especially well pleased with the civility
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of our captains, who regale him with European fare, and who generally salute him with five guns, on his paying them a visit, and the like number at his departure. This last is a ceremony he would not willingly dispense with, as this mark of respect gives him an air of importance amongst his subjects.

HIS attendants, who do not altogether stand so much upon ceremony, as their sovereign, have a forward way of begging any thing they fancy, and put on an air of dissatisfaction, if they are refused.

THEY begin (as I before observed) to be better acquainted with the value of gold, and silver, and are not altogether so fond of baubles as they used to be. For if we want to purchase cattle, fowls, or cowrys, they desire to be paid either in specie, fire-arms, or gunpowder. They have likewise fallen upon a method of soliciting those who come there, (particularly all passengers) to contribute a dollar or two, towards improving their navigation, which they carry on with the African continent; and by way of persuasive example, produce several lists of persons who have sub-

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scribed to that purpose, so that they sometimes collect thirty or forty dollars a ship, from those that touch there: and when the captains leave the place, they generally make it a point for them to sign, and leave with them a certificate of good usage.

THE huts of the lower sort of people, are built something after the nature of our barns; the sides being a sort of reeds tied together, and plaistered over with a mixture of clay, and cow-dung, and the roofs thatched with a kind of matting of coco-nut leaves. He is reckoned no small prince, who has a house of stone, and mud.

THEY subsist chiefly on vegetables and milk, both which they have here in great plenty, and perfection. Instead of oil and vinegar to their fallads, which are of the lettice kind, they use a kind of liquid, somewhat like our treacle, being a preparation of the juice, yielded on incision from the coconut-tree, before it is thickened into the consistence of Iagree, which is a kind of coarse sugar they make from it.

THOSE

THOSE of quality are to be distinguished by the nails of their fingers, and toes, which they suffer to grow to an immoderate length, being tinged with the alhenna, a yellowish red, furnished them by a certain shrub that grows in the marshy places of that island, a practice used all over Arabia, and in most places of the Turkish dominions.

THEY usually carry large knives, or poniards, which are stuck in a sash they wear round their waists, some of which have silver or agate handles; but commonly wrought wooden ones.

THEY are most of them tall of stature, strong, well proportioned in their limbs, have long black hair, piercing eyes, lips somewhat inclining to be thick, and are in general of a color between olive and black. Their women are rather more clumsily made.

THE common people have no cloathing but a piece of coarse wrapper, which goes round their loins, and often barely covers their sexual parts, and a skull cap, of any sort of
D 2 stuff.

stuff. Those of a superior rank have a kind of wide-sleev'd shirt, which hangs down over a pair of long drawers, and a waistcoat made thick or light, according to the season; but few wear turbands, unless such as are of great distinction.

THE women are more curious in their apparel, wearing a short jacket and petticoat, with a kind of loose gown, and a veil to cover their faces. Their arms and wrists they usually adorn with a number of bracelets, made of glass, iron, copper, pewter and silver, according to their respective ranks or circumstances. The small of their legs, their fingers and toes, are likewise deckt with chains and rings. Their ears are stuck full of mock jewels, and ornaments of metal, in so much that the lobes of them especially are greatly dilated and weighed down, which they are from their infancy taught to consider as a beauty.

THEY suffer their children from their birth, males and females, to go stark naked, till from five to seven or eight years old, a custom they have in common with the Orientals, who are not so much governed in it by the heat of
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the climate, or by necessity, as by physical reasons. They imagine that infants are constitutionally more apt to be hurt by heat than cold, and that the free access of the air to all parts of their bodies, is even nutritious, and more favourable to their principles of growth, than if they were sweltered up with swathing clouts, which, they think, rob them of a hardiness conducive to their health, and in case of any disposition to deformity, obstruct the free course of nature, always working for the best, and tending to clear itself of any imperfections. That by this method too, those little creatures are preserved from the irksome galling and chafing of cloaths, which often breeds their complaints and cryings, which if not carefully attended to, terminate, thro' their straining, into ruptures, and, at least requires absorbent powders to imbibe that acrid sweat, to which they are then subject. How far they may be in the right, I do not presume to determine, against the European custom, probably too prevalent and too established to admit of a change; but thus much is certain, that it is rare to see, I will not say, a deformed person, amongst them, but even one who is not admirably proportioned: and, I

have reason to think ruptures almost unknown to them, which are so common in Europe: some of them are, it is true, when young troubled with the navel-rupture, but this too they soon recover, and is without consequences.

THEIR language is a corrupt Arabic, mixt with the Zanguebar-language, of the opposite part of the continent, from whence it is probable the Comro islands were originally peopled. But the whiter sort of them, who are generally of the best rank, or at least the most esteemed amongst them, partly derive their color from the Arab mixture, and partly from their communication with the Europeans, which was formerly much more common than at present, that they have adopted the jealousy of the Arabs, together with their manners and religion; tho' theirs is as yet no more than a gross Mahometism, adulterated with the remains of their antient superstition, especially among the lower sort.

I COULD not learn that the Portugueze, or any of the Romish priests had ever made any great efforts to introduce the Christian religion, probably

probably from a sense that there was little or no money stirring here, which is usually their primum mobile, however they affect religion for their pretext, being very indifferent about being pastors to sheep that have not a golden fleece; and, to say the truth, they generally take special care, wherever they go, in quality of messengers of the glad tidings of the gospel, to be, like other mercenary messengers, well paid for their trouble, as will be more amply shewn, in the account I reserve to give in its place of that sort of christianity, they make such a boast of having propagated in India, with so little foundation for any plea of merit in it.

THEIR manners still retain a great deal of the simplicity of uncultivated nature. The mildness of the climate, renders them indolent, lazy, and prone to venery. They often make use of the liberty granted them by their law of divorcing their wives, upon slight pretexts, for the sake of novelty; though they have generally two or three of them, and are confined to no number of concubines they can maintain. They are forward enough to beg any thing that they like, but not thievishly

inclined. They treat the English especially very cordially, and fraternally, not purely from a principle of interest and convenience, which however has doubtless some influence, but also of gratitude for the effectual assistance they formerly received from them in their wars with the Mohilians. Being moreover assured, by a frequent intercourse, that they have no design of invading their country, or liberty, of which they retain a strong jealousy against other European nations, and of the Portuguese particularly, to whose usurpations of the sea-coast on the continent they are no strangers: and against which they chiefly and with great reason rely on the inaccessibility of their mountains, of which nature has formed for them, an impenetrable barrier, and defence of the inland country.

ALL their woods, as I have before observed, are clear of any wild beasts of prey, nor are they infested with any venomous animals. They have a great number of monkies of different kinds and sizes, and a beast of about the bigness of a common one, with a head greatly resembling that of a fox, with a lively piercing eye. Its coat is of a woolly kind,
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most commonly of a mouse-color, and its tail of about three feet in length, is variegated with circles of black, within an inch of one another, from the setting-on to the top. The natives call it a Mocawk, and when taken young it soon grows very tame. They also abound with squirrels, which are generally large and shy, but neither well-shaped nor agreeably colored. Their oxen, of which they have great numbers, are of a middling size, and like those in the East Indies, are remarkable for their difference from ours, in having a large fleshy excrescence between their neck and back, which are called the hump, and when kept in pickle for some time, are generally preferred either to tongue, or udder, tasting like firm marrow. Nothing too can be imagined sweeter than their flesh. What fowls we purchased were also extremely good and fat; but whilst we remained there, I had no opportunity of tasting their game, of which however they are said to have great and excellent variety: but the natives are very bad sportsmen, either with net or gun.

THE sea also furnishes them with fish of different sorts, and in great abundance, which
they

they are very expert at catching. They have one particular species, which is called the parrot-fish, beautified with the liveliest colors that can be imagined ; is about three foot and a half in length, thick in proportion, and reckoned delicious eating. They have also some flat fish, that a good deal resembles the turbot ; likewise thornbacks, mullets, and several other sorts, of which I could not learn the names.

BESIDES many fruits they have in common with the Indies, which it would be tiresome and out of place to enumerate here, there is one remarkable sort of sweet oranges, of a small size, not exceeding that of a common plumb or apricock, but replete with a juice, far more deliciously flavored than the larger sort, such as are generally imported here from Portugal, under the name of China-oranges. Doubtless too, their being gathered ripe, and fresh from the tree, is an advantage to their taste ; and they may safely be eat in great numbers.

UPON the whole then, it is not easy to conceive a place more perfectly suited for refreshment

ment after a tedious passage at sea, than the island of Johanna, there lying no objection to it, that I could learn, except the want of proper lodgment ashore, which might however be easily provided for, and its distance, which would be more convenient, if it was not so much beyond midway from England, that it makes the interval from land to land, rather too long for the preservation of health, especially amongst the common-sailors, not so preventively provided with necessaries against the ravages of the scurvy, as the officers and passengers; and, to say the truth, considering how precious the lives of men ought to be held, the precautions in their favor, great as they are already, on board the Europe ships, are not however so sufficient, but that they might receive some beneficial addition, in which both humanity, and the safety of the voyage itself, might find their account.

SATURDAY, the 4th of August, early in the morning, we unmoored the ship; and on receiving nineteen head of cattle on board, hoisted in the long-boat, and in the afternoon weighed anchor, with a light breeze from off the shore, and made the best of our route for
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our next post of destination Bombay, where, without any material occurrence in the passage, we arrived on tuesday the 28th of the same month, and came to an anchor in the road, saluting the fort, as customary, with nine guns, which was returned with the difference of two less in number.

Of BOMBAY.

ARRIVING at Bombay, I went ashore in the evening, about six o'clock, where, with the other gentlemen entertained in the same service, we waited on Mr. Wake, then governor, with our respects, who received us with great affability and politeness, inviting us to supper with him, and, in the interval, we retired to find out such gentlemen, belonging to the place, as we had letters for.

It was my good fortune to be recommended by a director in London, to a gentleman who was nephew to the governor, and at that time resided in the factory, who saved me the trouble of enquiring after him, by sending a servant to bring me to his apartment,
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and who afterwards, in honor of my recommendation, did me all the good offices, so welcome and so necessary to strangers, especially on their first arrival in a place new to them, and where they must consequently want advice and directions. I mention this not only by way of gratitude, but as a just caution for all who may be in the same case, of going abroad to such places, to get provided with effectual recommendations, for it too often happens, that many rest satisfied with either improper ones, or with such, as being mere matter of form, are treated as such, by those to whom they are addressed.

I WAS then soon put into a regular way of life, and had no other inconveniencies or complaints, but what one is usually exposed to, in the change of one's native climate for a foreign one. And here, tho' this place is pretty well known by a number of descriptions of its origin, situation, climate, &c. it might be deemed an imperfection in my plan, were I not to mention, at least summarily, those particulars as the reference to other books or accounts, would break the connexion and order, required for the readers ideas, which

which must be the clearer, for the whole being presented to him at one view.

BOMBAY then is an island, lies in the latitude of eighteen degrees, forty one minutes of north latitude, on the coast of Decan, the high mountains of which are full in view, at a trifling distance, and is so situate, as, together with the winding of other islands along that continent, to form one of the most commodious bays perhaps in the world, from which distinction it receives its denomination of Bombay, by corruption from the Portuguese Buon-bahia, though now usually written by them Bombaim. Certain it is, that the harbor is spacious enough to contain any number of ships; has excellent anchoring-ground, and by its circular position, can afford them a land-locked shelter against any winds, to which the mouth of it is exposed. It is also admirably situate for a center of dominion and commerce, with respect to the Malabar coast, the Gulf of Persia, the Red-Sea, and the whole trade of that side of the great Indian Peninsula, and northern parts adjoining to it: to the government of which Presidency then, they are very properly subordinated.

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CONSIDERING too that this island is situated within the tropics, the climate of it is far from intolerable from its heat, in any time of the year, though never susceptible of any degree of cold beyond what must be rather agreeable to an European constitution. In the very hottest season, which is that which immediately precedes the periodical return of the rains, the refreshment of the alternate land and sea-breezes, is hardly ever wanting, the calms being generally of a very short duration ; so that perhaps, in the year, there may be a few days of an extraordinary sultry heat, and even those may be made supportable, by avoiding any violent exercise, by keeping especially out of the malignant unmitigated glare and action of the sun, and by a light unoppressive dyet. Great care too should be taken of not exposing one self to the dangerous effect of the night-dews, and of the too quick transition from a state of open pores, to their perspiration being shut up, which is so often the case of those, who, from an impatience of heat, venture to sleep from under cover, in the raw air of the night, pleasantly indeed, but perniciously cooled by the absence of the sun : a circumstance yet more fatal, to such
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as have besides been heated by any intemperance in eating and drinking.

BOMBAY, in fact, had long born an infamous character for unhealthfulness. It was commonly called the Burying-ground of the English ; but this was only till an experience, bought at the expence of a number of lives, had rendered the causes of such a mortality more known, and consequently more guarded against. Amongst others, the principal ones doubtless were.

FIRST, the nature of the climate, and the precautions and management required by it, not being so sufficiently known, as they now are ; if that knowledge was but prevalent enough, with many, for them to sacrifice their pleasures of intemperance, or the momentary relief from a present irksomeness of heat, to the preservation of their healths.

FORMERLY too, there obtained a practice esteemed very pernicious to the health of the inhabitants, employing a manure for the coconut-trees (which grow in abundance on the island) consisting of the small fry of fish, and
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called by the country-name Buckshaw, which was undoubtedly of great service, both to augment, and meliorate their produce; but thro' its quantity being but superficially laid in trenches round the root, and consequently the easier to be exhaled, diffused, as it putrefied, a very unwholesome vapor. There are some however, who deny this, and insist on the ill consequences of this manure to be purely imaginary, or at least greatly exaggerated, giving for reason, that the inhabitants themselves were never sensible of any noxious quality in that method, and that if the island is now less unhealthy, that change must be sought for in other causes. But all are agreed, that the habitations in the woods, or coconut-groves, are unwholesome, from the air wanting a free current through them, and from the trees themselves, diffusing a kind of vaporous moisture, unfavourable to the lungs, a complaint common to all close-wooded countries.

THERE has also been another reason assigned, for the island having grown healthier, from the lessening of the waters, by a breach of the sea being banked off, which however does

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not

not seem to me a satisfactory one. There is still subsisting a great body of salt water on the inside of the breach, the communication of which with the sea, being less free, than before the breach was built, must be in proportion more apt to stagnate, and breed noxious vapors ; so that this alteration, by the breach, cannot enter for much, if any thing, into the proposed solution, which may perhaps be better reduced into the before-mentioned one of the different diet, and manner of living of the Europeans : not however without taking into account, the place being provided with more skilful physicians than formerly, when there was less niceness in the choice of them. Surgeons, and surgeons-mates of ships, and those none of the expertest, used to be admitted almost without any, or but a superficial examination : though in so tender a point, as that of the life of subjects, always precious, and surely more so, where they are so difficult to recruit. The same negligence was also observed with respect to the gallies, and other armed vessels of the company in those parts : and to say the truth, the pay was too slender to invite into such service any capable persons. And here I cannot omit inserting, though digressively,

gressively, one instance of a wanton disregard to that material point, of the truth of which I have been credibly assured. Mr. Phipps, one of the former governors, on examining the marine establishment of Bombay, in which he proposed making retrenchments, by way of currying favour with his masters at home, which is often done, by the falsest, and most ruinous œconomy, observed the surgeons pay, rated at 42 rupees per month, which, at the usual way of reckoning of a rupee for half-a-crown, was just five guineas. “What, says he, there must be some mistake, the figures “are transposed, it must be 24 instead of 42,” and for the sake of this in every sense a barbarous joke, he, with a dash of his pen, curtailed the pay accordingly: but surely this was rather cutting into the quick, than paring off excrescences.

BUT whatever may be the reason, the point is certain, that the climate is no longer so fatal to the English inhabitants as it used to be, and incomparably more healthy than many other of our settlements in India.

THE most common disorders are fevers, to which muscular strong men are more subject
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than those of laxer fibres ; and bloody fluxes, but the last make much less ravage than they used to do, where they fixed, from the superior method of treating them. New-comers too especially are liable to some cutaneous eruptions, such as the prickly heat, which is rather reckoned beneficial than otherwise ; and a sort of tetters, called ring-worms, from their circular form, about the size of a shilling, which however soon submit to a gentle physicking, or even to some slight outward application.

THE Barbeers, a violent disorder, generally ending in rendring all the limbs paralytic ; and the mordechin, which is a fit of violent vomiting and purging, that often proves fatal, are distempers hardly now known on the island.

IN short, this place, the name of which used to carry terror with it, with respect to its unhealthiness, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account, provided any common measure of temperance be observed, without which the tenure of health, in any climate, must be a hazardous one.

THE seasons however can at most be divided into three, the cool, the hot, and the rainy, or indeed properly enough into the dry weather, which lasts eight months in the year, and into the wet, which continues about four months, raining but with short intermissions. The setting in of the rains, is commonly ushered in by a violent thunder-storm, generally called the Elephanta, a name which it probably receives in the Asiatic style, from the comparison of its force to that of the elephant. This however is a pleasing prelude to the refreshment that follows, from the rain^s moderating that excessive heat, which is then at its height, and naturally brings on, with the sun that raises the vapors, the relief from its intense ardor. They begin about the 28th of May, and break up about the beginning of September, after which there is never any, unless, and that but rarely, a short transient shower. This rainy season however, though extremely hot, in any dry intervals, when the sun shines out for a few hours, is counted the pleasantest. Yet the end of it, and some days after, are not reckoned but the sickliest time of the whole year, from the abundance of exhalations forming a kind of faint, vaporous

bath, from which those who lodge in apartments the highest from the ground are proportionably less in danger, the atmosphere growing gradually clearer upwards.

DURING this season the country-trading vessels are laid up, especially those belonging to the black-merchants, with whom it is a kind of superstition not to send any to sea, till after a festival on the breaking up of the rains, the ceremony of which consists chiefly in throwing, by way of oblation, a consecrated coconut into the sea, gilt and ornamented. Then and not till then they look on the sea as open and navigable till the next returning rains. How this solemn anniversary foolery came to be established, I never could learn from any of the natives; it being probably one of their many traditional customs, the original of which is lost in the remoteness of their Antiquity.

Of the Government of BOMBAY.

THE government of this island is entirely English, subordinate to the Court of Directors of the United Companies of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, who appoint, by commission, a President, to whom they join a Council, consisting of nine persons, the whole number of which are rarely, or rather never on the spot, being employed as chiefs of the several factories subordinate to that presidency. Such of the Council as are at Bompay appointed to the posts of the greatest trust, such as accountant, warehouse-keeper, land-paymaster, marine-paymaster, and other offices for transacting the Company's affairs. They are generally such as have risen by degrees from the station of writers, and take place (unless otherwise ordered from home) according to the seniority of the service.

THE President then, and such members of the Council as are on the spot, being convened by his order signified to them by the secretary, constitute a regular Council, in which all matters are decided by plurality of votes. But

the influence of the President is generally so great, that few or no points are carried but according to his will, and dictates. For should any of the Council oppose him, he has it so much in his power to make their situation uneasy to them, that they must quit the service, and repair home, where, unless the occasion of discontent is very flagrant indeed, they rarely meet with much countenance or redress; the Company thinking it rather more political to wink at the faults of a Governor, where they are such as not to be too hurtful to their service, than to expose their affairs to the hazard of worse inconveniences, from the dissensions of any number of absolutely co-ordinates. And to say the truth, this weight at top, though liable from human infirmity to be sometimes oppressive, serves to keep the under parts steady and fixt in their place, and it is besides easier to make one person accountable for the administration of things than a number; and since the President is he on whom the Company chiefly relies, it seems but reasonable that he should have the greatest share of power.

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As to the matters of a judicial nature, they were in the year 1727 settled by a royal charter, respectively obtained for the three chief Presidencies of the Company in India, to wit, Bombay, Fort St. George, or Madras, on the coast of Coromandel and Calcutta in Bengal. How this Charter was received or managed in the two last places, I have had no distinct account: but as to Bombay am better informed. At the time this Charter was procured for these settlements, it was generally believed to have been solicited by Mr. Harrison, once a Governor of India, but at that time a Director of the East-India Company, who, in fact, meant it as a temporary expedient for preserving and extending his influence over the direction by this proof of his favour at court; though the plausible pretext alledged was the better administration of justice in those colonies. That such however could not be the true intention, must appear clearly from the neglect of all the proper and competent means for establishing it, especially with reference to Bombay; and indeed as to the two others, I never heard that there was any more care taken of them. The Charter
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then appointing the judges of Oyer and Terminer, the Mayor's Court, and the Court of Appeals, this last to consist of purely the President and Council, was only attended with a manuscript book of instructions, which, granting it was framed by the ablest lawyers in the kingdom, could yet be but a very imperfect guidance to the gentleman nominated to the several judicial offices necessary to the execution thereof. These gentlemen being, generally speaking, such as came very young out of their country, bred up entirely in a mercantile way, and utterly unacquainted with the laws of England. They were in course then liable to make great mistakes, especially in cases of capital importance: and however their natural good sense and well-meaning might make a shift in purely commercial cases to decide with tolerable equity, they could not but be greatly at a loss in those of a mixed nature, or where it was necessary to pay a regard to the particular laws of England. And no person had been sent out with capacity or knowledge enough to put this new method of procedure into a proper course, and to ascertain the limits of the several jurisdictions: so that the Charter was left in a manner to
execute

execute itself. But this insufficiency of judgment was not even the worst of its consequences. For several of the Company's servants, named especially to fill the offices of Mayor and Aldermen of the Mayor's Court, even though their jurisdiction was subordinate to the Court of Appeals, assumed to themselves such an authority and independence, as made the Governor and Council jealous of theirs being lessened, or at least checked by it. This bred such feuds and dissensions, that several of the members of the Mayor's Court conceiving themselves aggrieved, quitted the service, and repaired home to the Company with their complaints. All which might have been in a great measure prevented, if proper persons had been appointed, and sent out by the Company, to give these new powers their due digestion and form. Whereas, as it was, the want of knowledge, the inexperience and aim at independence in the appointed members of the several Courts, rendered this accession of authority a dangerous Tool in the hands of persons so disqualified for the exercise of it: so that it is scarce a doubt, but the Charter had been better not obtained, than no better a provision have been made for its administration
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and maintenance. The neglect of such necessary precautions, being evidently fitter to give a sanction to unavoidable errors, and breed dissentions, than to promote a regular distribution of justice. And, to say the truth, any such disposition, which could only be made by sending out persons competently learned in the law, and vested with a sufficient authority, would not only have been attended with a great expence, but might have too much interfered with the plan of government instituted by the Company at home, and have broke that unity of direction so necessary to the due subordination of their servants.

As to the military and marine force, it is considered as more immediately under the direction of the President, who is entitled General and Commander in chief, though nothing material is supposed to be ordered concerning either without the concurrence of the Council.

As to the military, the common men are chiefly such as the Company sends out in their ships, or deserters from the several nations settled in India, Dutch, French, and Portuguese,

gueſe, which laſt are commonly known by the name of Reynols (Regnicolæ) ; and laſtly Topazes, moſtly black, or of a mixed breed from the Portugueſe, to whom, and indeed to all the Roman-catholicks in the military ſervice, there is not the leaſt objection made, or moleſtation given on account of their religion, of which they have the freeſt exerciſe imaginable ; nor is even the leaſt expediency of changing it even mentioned to them ; ſo that they are ſo eaſy on that head, that they might ſafely be truſted in any war againſt thoſe of their own religion, ſuch as the French, or even againſt the Portugueſe themſelves. At leaſt I never heard of any complaint relating thereto.

THESE then are formed into companies under Engliſh officers, ſo as to compoſe the preſidiary force of the iſland ; and are beſides occaſionally draughted off in detachments or parties ſent upon command, either in the land-ſervice, or in re-inforcement of the ſubordinate ſettlements, or on board the armed veſſels which conſtitute the companies Marine in thoſe parts.

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IN the military too many may be included regularly formed companies of the natives. These folders are called sepays, who have their proper officers with the titles in the country-language, all however under the Orders of the English. They use muskets, at which they are indifferently expert; but they are chiefly armed in the country-manner, with sword and target, and wear the Indian dress, the turbant, cabay or vest, and long drawers. Their pay is but small, comparatively to the Europeans; and yet they are on many occasions very serviceable from their inurement to the climate, and diet of the country; and are rarely known to misbehave or give way, if they are well-led, and encouraged by the example of the Europeans, with whom they are joined. Generally speaking too they are very faithful to the masters who pay them, or to use the expression familiar to the natives, to those whose *salt* they eat.

THERE is also on the island kept up a sort of militia, composed of the land-tillers, and bandarees, whose living depends chiefly on the cultivation of the coconut-trees, who, though not regularly disciplined, would be of good

good service, especially in any laborious part of military duty, and would assist in the defence of the island, against any foreign invasion, for the sake of their families there settled, and from attachment to the English government, the mildness and justice of which is the more sensible to them from the comparison obvious to make of it, to the oppression of the neighbouring governments.

BESIDES the necessary charge of a presidary force, for the defence of the island, the Company has been obliged for a number of years to keep up a military marine, for the protection of trade upon the coast, the whole length of which has, for time immemorial, been infested with pirates, and bears some resemblance to that part of the African coast, which has so long been infamous for this practice. Certain then it is, that but for the constant check they were kept in by the English naval force in those parts, those seas would have swarmed with piratical vessels, and no trading one, unsufficiently armed, could have escaped them.

THE coast to the northward of Bombay and Surat, was chiefly the harbour of a nest of
Pirates,

pirates, called Sanganians, who seldom extended their cruize far beyond the latitude of their ports, and were especially troublesome to the trading vessels bound in or out of the Gulf of Persia. But they rarely attacked any ship of strength, their cruizers being of no size, nor carrying any artillery equal to such an attempt. Their object too was chiefly plunder, without making slaves of those they found on captured vessels; a rule which however they sometimes broke thorough, where there was any considerable ransom to be hoped.

On the opposite coast which forms the end of the Persian Gulph, were seated the Muskat-Arabs, whose first putting forth ships for cruizing was purely out of revenge against the Portuguese, whom they endeavoured to harass by all means, and even proceeded so far as to make descents on their settlements bordering upon Surat, where they committed all sort of devastations. But having once got a relish of pillaging these their enemies at sea, they began to extend their attacks indiscriminately on other nations, and amongst them on the English, from whom however, after receiving various defeats, they were induced to abstain
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in future, and little by little taking a commercial turn, they have of late much remitted of that piratical turn, and keep vessels of force rather upon the defensive, than for any other purpose, and therewith held the power of the famous Shah-Nadir (Thomas Cooley Khawn) in defiance, who had the reduction of them much at heart.

FORMERLY too the Malabar coast, which though it gives its name to the sea-shore as high as Surat, properly begins at Mount-Dilly, was also noted for the pirates that it bred, who greatly disturbed the navigation of the Indian seas. But these were long ago quieted by the Portuguese armaments, and since, having been not only overpowered by the English, but discountenanced by the country-governments who used to give them harbour and protection, are now dwindled to nothing.

To the northward too of Goa, there were several petty chiefs, who carried on this piratical course, but who at length came to an amicable correspondence with the English, from their dread and jealousy of the superior and growing power of Angria, their common enemy, though from different reasons.

It was then principally on account of Angria, whose dominions stretched from the mouth of Bombay harbour, down a great length of coast without a material interruption, that the Company was, in its own defence, obliged to keep on foot a very expensive maritime force. This force consisted chiefly of gallies built here in England, on the beautifullest models that can be imagined, carrying about eighteen or twenty guns, and provided with oars, which were of special service in a calm. They had also a few grabs, being vessels of much the same burthen, but built in the country, on the model of Angria's grabs, with prows, which seem best calculated for carrying chace-guns. The scheme of those people's gunnery being chiefly to get into the wake of their enemy, and rake him fore-and-aft; a kind of quarter-master conducting the vessel till he brings the masts of his chace into one, at the instant of which he gives the word for firing, and commonly does the greatest execution in the rigging, after which they have the easier market of the vessel thus disabled. Otherwise, they are too slightly built to lay along-side of any ship of the least weight of metal. Their great
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stress then lies on those prow-guns, which they manage to special advantage in a calm, having armed boats to tow them a-stern of the vessel they attack, and which for want of wind cannot avoid them. Of these armed boats called Gallevats, the Company maintains also a competent number, for the service of their marine, being not only of use to oppose them to the enemy, but for pursuit, or expeditions in shoal water. For further strengthening too of the naval force in those parts, the Company occasionally stations at Bombay some larger built ships from Europe, which for their superior weight of metal, and greater difficulty of boarding, and especially in deep water, with any thing of a commanding gale, have nothing to fear from those slight vessels, though in a calm, they might gall and plague them sufficiently.

ALL these vessels that formed the military marine of Bombay were chiefly manned with English, or with European deserters from other nations, and according to the exigency reinforced with detachments of soldiers from the land-forces, to serve in the nature of marines. These vessels were too, besides guarding the navigation of those seas, and convoying the

trade employed on collateral services, such as protecting the interest of the Company, or vindicating its honour, where requisite within the bounds of that Presidency's department, as in the Red Sea, gulf of Persia, the Bar of Surat, &c.

BUT whatever care could be taken of employing these cruizers to safety and advantage, it could scarce happen otherwise, but that Angria, always alert, and who knew too well the inferiority of his strength, to attack them without great odds on his side, should now and then over-match them so with numbers, as to get the better; but as more will be said of him hereafter, I shall drop him here.

TOWARDS defraying the Charges of this marine, the Company required of all the vessels trading in those seas, those of the other European nations excepted, to take the passes of the Bombay-Government, for which they paid a small consideration, at which I never heard the least murmuring; the merchants being duly sensible not only of the benefit their trade received from the English protection, but
that

that this contribution was far short of the cost of it.

Nothing however has more contributed to the population of this island, than the mildness of the government and the toleration of all religions, there not being suffered the least violence or injury to be offered, either to the natives or Europeans on that account. The Roman-catholic churches, the Moorish moschs, the Genloo Pagodas, the worship of the Parfees, are all equally unmolested and tolerated. They have the free exercise of all their rites and religious ceremonies, without either the English interfering, or their clashing with one another. This toleration makes too a contrast very favourable for our nation, to the rigors of the inquisition, which take place in the neighbouring territories of the Portugueze, whose having rendered themselves odious on that account, was not one of the least reasons that facilitated their being driven out of the greatest part of them by the Marattas, who are all Gentoos. Mr. Bouchier too the present governor has greatly exerted himself, on the troubles of the government at Surat, and in the countries round about, to draw a confluence of

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their

their inhabitants, merchants, and tradesmen to settle at Bombay, where they experience quite another treatment and security than under their own governments. And, in truth, this gentleman's conduct cannot be too much commended for his incessant endeavours at increasing the population, and improving or enlarging the trade of the island, and especially for his care of cultivating peace and friendship with those dangerous and powerful neighbours the Marattas, who being now masters of the contiguous island of Salfett, can at pleasure streighten the supplies of the island, and interrupt its inland communication. But of them more in its place.

Of the state of landed property on the island.

IT is to be observed, that when the cession of this island and harbour was first made to the English by the Portugeze, although so far deficient as it was, against the terms of agreement between the two crowns, and that the island of Salfett, which was manifestly included in the regalities of Bombay, was unjustly withheld from us, and consequently greatly

greatly lessened the importance of an island, which must chiefly depend for its support on that of Salsett; the Portuguese also clogged the surrender of even this small part of what was our due, with the condition that the inhabitants, late their subjects, were to enjoy their possessions in the same manner as before we took possession. The island was then, and still continues divided into three roman-catholic parishes, or Freguezias as they call them, and are Bombay, Mahim, and Salvaçam, of which the churches are governed by roman-catholic priests, of any nation but the Portuguese, against whom the English wisely objected, from the danger of their connection and too close correspondence with the priests of their own nation, in the neighbouring Portuguese dominions, of whom we had had repeated reasons to be jealous. The bulk then of the land-proprietors were roman-catholic Mestizos and Canarins. The first are a mixed breed of the natives and Portuguese, the other purely aborigines of the country, converted to what the Portuguese call the Faith. The other land-owners were Moors, Gentoos, and Parsees, but these last are of modern date, having since purchased on the island. To all these

however the article of security to their property has been inviolably kept, and the right of inheritance is regulated according to the respective laws and customs of the several denominations of cast or religion. The land is chiefly employed in coconut-groves, or oarts, or in rice-fields, or in onion-grounds, which are reckoned of an excellent sort on this island.

THE Company has also acquired a considerable landed estate, what by purchases, and by confiscations for crimes, or treasons, and seizures for debt, which estate there is a particular officer under the title of super-intendant appointed to administer. There are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the Company, cultivated after the European manner, the one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the English gentlemen who may please to walk there; the other a much larger and finer one at about five miles distance from the town, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-house, which was originally a Romish chapel belonging to the jesuits, but confiscated about the year 1719, for some foul practices against the English interest. It is now converted into a pleasant mansion-

manſion-house, and what with the additional buildings, and the improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long, and though near the sea-side. is shelter'd from the air of it by a hill that is between. Here the governor may spend most part of the heats, the air being cooler and fresher than in town, and nothing is wanting that may make a country-retirement agreeable.

As to the oarts, or coconut-groves, they make the most considerable part of the landed property, being planted wherever the situation and soil is favourable to them. When a number of these groves lie contiguous to each other, they form what is called the woods, through which there is a due space left for Roads and pathways, where one is pleasantly defended from the sun at all hours in the day. They are also thick-set with houses belonging to the respective proprietors, as well as with huts of the poorer sort of people. I have before marked, that they are however reckoned unwholesome for want of a free ventilation.

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As to the coconut-tree itself, not all the minute descriptions of it, which I have met with in many authors, seem to me to come up to the reality of its wonderful proprieties and use. Nothing is so unpromising as the aspect of this tree, nor none yields a produce more profitable or more variously beneficial to mankind. It has some resemblance to the palm-tree, if it is not even a species of it. The leaves of it serve for thatching, the husk of the fruit for making cordage, and even the largest cables for ships. The kernel of it is dried, and yields an oil much wanted for several uses, and makes a considerable branch of traffick under the name of Copra. Arrack, a coarse sort of sugar called Jagree, and vinegar are also extracted from it, besides many other particulars too tedious to enumerate. The cultivation too of it is extremely easy, by means of channels conveying water to the roots, and by a manure laid round them, of which I have spoke already. An owner then of two hundred of these trees is reckoned to have a competency to subsist on.

As to the rice-fields they differ in value, according to the fineness and quantity of rice they pro-

produce. The growth of this grain has a particularity not unworth mentioning, which is, that as it loves a watry soil, so to whatever height the water rises, wherever it is planted, the growth of the rice keeps measure with it, even to that of twelve or fourteen foot, that the summit of the stalk always appears above the surface. It is also remarked, that the eating of new rice affects the eyes. The fact is certain, though I cannot assume to give the physical reason for it.

THERE are also here and there interspersed a few brab-trees, or rather wild palm-trees (the word brab being derived from *Brabo*, which in Portugueze signifies wild) that bear an insipid kind of fruit, about the bigness of a common pear. But the chief profit from them is the Toddy, or liquor drawn from them by incisions at the top, of which the arrack that is made is reckoned better than that from the coconut-trees. They are generally near the sea-side, as they delight most in a sandy soil. It is on this tree that the Toddy-birds, so called from their attachment to that tree, make their exquisitely curious nests, wrought out the thinnest reeds and filaments of branches, with

with an inimitable mechanism. The birds themselves being of no value either for plumage, song, or the table, and are about the bigness of a partridge.

THIS island is however a strong instance of the benefits of a good government, and a numerous population, by not a spot of it remaining uncultivated, so that though it is far from producing sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, and notwithstanding its many disadvantages of situation and soil, it yields, in proportion to its bigness, incomparably more than the adjacent island of Salsett, whither under the government of the Portugueze, or as it now is under that of the Marattas.

*Of the Fortifications, publick Works,
and Buildings of BOMBAY.*

WHEN the English first took possession of this island, they found in that part of it which chiefly commands the harbour, an old fortified house, which was the residence of the Portugueze governor, and though this house

house might have very well served for other valuable uses, they were tempted to make it the centre-house of the castle which they built round it. It is however impossible to conceive in every sense a more incommodious structure, and the same or perhaps less cost than the reparations and additions have stood in to the Company, would have built a much better mansion new from the ground. Yet the false œconomy of preserving this old piece of building, which need not to have been demolished or thrown away, had such effect, that it hindered the English not only from consulting a more commanding situation to the harbor, which is that of Mendham's Point, but made them blind to the disadvantage of the fort built round it, being overlooked by an eminence near it, called Dungharee Point, on which there is only a small untenable little fort, of no defence, and which serves now for the town-prison, for debtors, or criminals.

THE castle however itself deserved a better situation, being a regular quadrangle, well-built of strong hard stone. In one of the bastions of it that faces Dungharee-Point, there is a large tank or cistern hollowed, in which
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contains a great quantity of water, that is constantly replenished by the stationary rains. There is a well too within the fort, but of which the water is not extremely good, and liable to be dried up in the heats. And by the way be it observed, that the water in general on the island is not reckoned the best; and has been given for a reason why the Gentoo merchants were not so forward to settle on it. Water being a point of great consequence with them; for, as they drink no spirituous liquors, they are very curious, and discerning in the taste and qualities of waters.

SOME years after, as the town grew more populous, it was judged expedient to add the security of a wall round it; and even then, they neglected to take in, as they might have done by a small extension, that dangerous post of Dungharee, which evidently now commands both town and castle. The curtains however between the bastions, were of little more strength or substance than a common garden wall: but there has lately been added at a great expence a ditch that encompasses the wall, and can be flooded at pleasure, by letting in the sea, at which the ditch terminates
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on two sides, so that the town is thoroughly surrounded with water. It is now one of the strongest places by much that the Company has in India, and considering the commodiousness of its harbor, might not be improperly made their capital place of arms, in the same nature as Batavia serves the Dutch. Especially too if the envious Portuguese had not detained us from that fertile large island of Salsett, which would have compleatly served for a granary to it. Instead of which, their supine indolent government suffered the Jesuits, who are better known in India by the appellation of Paulists, from their head church and convent of St. Paul's in Goa, to get by degrees, and with their usual arts and management of the Laity, by much the greatest part of that island into their own hands, and which they kept wretchedly fortified, so that it fell an easy conquest to the Marattas, and at the same time we lost an useful barrier between us and that rapacious people.

AT proper posts also round the island there are disposed several little out-forts and redoubts, as at Mazagam, Sion, Suree, and Worlee. None of which are however capable of making
any

any long defence. The fort of Mahim is by much the most considerable, next to that of Bombay, being situate at the opposite extremity lengthways of the island. It commands the pass of Bandurah, a fort which almost fronts it on the opposite shore of Salsett, from which it is divided by an arm of the sea, that is however capable only of receiving small craft, that does not bring in great business to the custom-house established there.

THE breach is the work that next claims mention, and is the most considerable for the cost of it. About two miles out of town, towards the middle of the island, the sea had so gained upon it with its irruption that it almost divided the island in two, and made the roads impassable. It did not then only take up a great expence to drain off a great quantity of this water, but to make a cause-way that should bank off this inundation. This cause-way then is above a quarter of a mile in length, and of a considerable breadth, but there is one gross fault remarked in it, that being bending near its middle, the architect has opposed to the sea a re-entering angle instead of a saliant one. Perhaps he had his reasons, but at least they

they do not appear. In the mean time there still lies within the breach a considerable body of water that has a free communication with the sea, as appears by its ebbing and flowing, and probably is but the wholesomer for it. Though it is not unlikely that this subterraneous intercourse may, in process of time, undermine and blow up the cause-way. After all then I am far from convinced, that the benefits accruing from the breach are equal to the expence of it, which I am assured could not be much less than a hundred thousand pounds.

THE only English church at Bombay, and which is full sufficient for any possible congregation of them at it, is a building, which if it has nothing to boast of as to its architecture, is however extremely neat, commodious, and airy, being situate on what is called the *Green*, a spacious area that continues from the fort thereto, and is pleasantly laid out in walks planted with trees, round which are mostly the houses of the English inhabitants.

THESE are generally but ground-floored after the roman fashion, and mostly with a courtyard

yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houses. They are substantially built with stone, lime, and smooth plaistered on the out-side. They are often kept white-washed, which has a neat air, but very offensive to the eyes from the glare of the sun. Few of them have glass-windows to any apartment, the sashes being generally paned with a kind of transparent oyster-shells square-cut, which have the singular property of transmitting the light full sufficiently, at the same time that they exclude the violence of its glare, and have besides a cool look. The flooring is generally composed of a kind of loam or stucco, called Chunam, being a lime made of burnt shells, which if well tempered, as they have a peculiar art of it, is extremely hard and lasting, and takes so smooth a polish, that one may literally see one's face in it. But where terrasses are made of it, unless the chunam is duly prepared, and which is very expensive, it is apt to crack with the violence of the sun's heat. There have been also some attempt to paint the stucco walls in apartments, but have never succeeded, being presently spoiled, and discolored by the saline particles of the lime, for which hitherto there has been found no cure.

cure. And here I cannot omit mentioning an use made at Surat of this manner of terrassing (for I saw no such thing at Bombay) some having instead of gravel walks in their gardens, stucco ones, a little raised above the garden-beds, so that they must be dry to walk on immediately after the violentest rain, but then what with their whiteness and polish they must have a very disagreeable effect on the eye, in a sun-shiny day, besides their being so slippery.

THE houses of the black merchants, as they are called, though some are far from deserving the appellation of black, are for the most part extremely ill built, and incommodious; the window-lights small, and the apartments ill distributed. Some however make a better appearance, if but for being a story high, but not the best of them are without a certain meanness in the manner, and clumsiness in the execution that may be observed, comparatively, and without any partiality to the European architecture, even the ordinariest.

THERE is however a convenience most of those houses either of the English or natives

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have,

have, which are small ranges of pillars which support a pent-house or shed, that forms what is called in the Portuguese *Lingua-franca* *Verandas*, either round, or on particular sides of the house, which afford a pleasing shelter against the sun, and keeps the inner apartments cool and refreshed by the draught of air under them. Such colonnades might methinks even in England not be unserviceable to summer-houses especially; which being so heated by a constant sun in the middle of the day, as to be hardly tolerable, cannot be supposed to be cooled fast enough even in the evening to allow of their being a refreshing retreat. It is under these *Verundas* that the owners, especially the natives, generally enjoy the fresh air, and often transact their business, or receive visitants.

MOST however of the best houses are within the walls of the town, which, to the best of my judgment on a gross guess, may be about a mile in circuit.

As for the Pagodas of the Gentoos, there is not one of them worth mentioning as to their appearance, being low mean buildings,
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commonly admitting the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol, which is made after the various imaginations they have of the subaltern deities they worship, of which more will be said in its place. They fancy, it seems, that a dark gloomy place inspires a kind of religious horror and reverence. They are remarkably fond of having those Pagodas amongst trees, and near the side of a tank, or pond, for the sake of their ablutions, which they do not like the Mahometans so much practice as a religious ceremony as purely for cleanliness, and I might add, for the voluptuousness of them in those hot countries. These tanks, or ponds, are often very expensive works, being generally square, and surrounded with stone-steps, that are very commodious to the bathers. The most remarkable Pagoda then on the island is on Malabar-hill, which is something more than two mile distance out of town, and is a kind of promontory that stretching into the sea, forms, together with a small island called Old Woman's Island, what is called Back Bay, the entry of which is shut up by a ledge of rocks running from the one to the other. On this hill, which is far from an high one, and of

easy ascent, about a mile from that ascent, after passing a plain a-top of it, on a gentle declivity to the sea-side, stands the Gentoo Pagoda, with a large tank or pond a few foot from it, and is of fresh water, formed by the draining of the rains, though not many yards from the sea, with which it is near on a level, on the side that is open to it, all but where the Pagoda stands between a part of it and the shore. The other three sides are surrounded with trees that form an amphitheatre, on the slopes of the hill towards it, than which no prospect that I ever saw, or can conceive, forms a more agreeably wild landscape. The trees open to all the force of the winds, follow the general law, and take a strong bent to the opposite point from them, but with such regularity, that one would think they had been trimmed or pruned to that figure they exhibit. These trees give one the idea of the temple-groves, so often pictured in the antients. A little beyond that spot, towards the extremity of the hill, was built a very small Pagoda, of no manner of appearance, or worth mentioning, but for the sake of the founder of it, an itinerant Joguy or Gentoo vagrant priest, who not twenty years ago was at the expence of it,
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out of the alms and voluntary donations collected from those of his religion on the island. And as there is something in his history that characterises them, I shall summarily insert it here, as I received it from a Gentoo who knew him, and hope I shall be forgiven the digression.

THIS man, when he first came on the island, might be about five and thirty years of age, tall, stait, and well-made. By his account, and a very probable one, considering their profession of vagrancy, he had been all over Tartary, Thibet, and on the borders of China. At length he took Bombay in his rounds, and here, though according to his institution, which is strictly that of the old Gymnosophist of India, so plainly and so truly mentioned in antient history, he ought to have gone stark-naked, yet out of deference to our manners, when he took his station up in this hill, he just covered those parts which the common ideas of decency oblige to conceal, and yet not so much, but that might plainly be seen a brass ring passed through the prepuce, which does to those of his profession, the same office as a padlock or girdle of chastity is supposed

to do to the Italian women. His hair too, which was twice the length of his body, that is to say, reaching down to his heels, and thence to the crown of his head again, was wreathed in rolls round, and rose in a kind of spire of a ruffet colour, into which it was sun-burnt from its original black. This man then, on his arrival at Bombay, addressed himself solely to the Gentoos, and to them only for money towards founding the small Pagoda I have mentioned, nor indeed did I hear it suggested that he applied it to any other use. But his scheme for exciting their devotion was something extraordinary. He preached to them from the midst of a great fire which surrounded him, and had something of a miraculous air, though there was nothing but what was very natural in it. He had a platform of earth made of the elevation of about two foot, and about twelve or fourteen foot square. Round this was set a pile of wood, which, being lighted, made him appear as if preaching from amidst the flames, though they never touched him, but must have been unsupportable to any but himself, who had from his childhood inured himself by degrees to bear such a heat. This device however had its effect, for it produced

duced to him a collection, at several times, to the amount of what he required.

AND here I cannot quit Malabar-hill without mentioning another particularity of it. At the very extreme point of it, there is a rock on the descent to the sea, flat a-top, in which there is a natural crevice, that communicates with a hollow that terminates at an opening outwards towards the sea. This place is used by the Gentoos, as a purification of their sins, which they say is effected by their going in at the opening, and emerging out of the crevice, which to me seemed too narrow for any person of any corpulence to squeeze through, though I have been credibly assured, that several very fat persons have atchieved it. However, this ceremony is of such repute, in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition which I do not however pretend to warrant, that the famous Conajee Angria, father to the present Angrias, ventured by stealth, one night, on the island, on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered.

Of

Of the Islands adjacent to BOMBAY.

THE first island occurring to notice, and stretching from Bombay, from which it is only separated by the sea at flood, and easy to walk over to on the ebb, is called Old Woman's island, though for what reason I know not. It is a very narrow strip of land, about two miles long, terminating at the end in a small eminence, or hillock, upon which a look-out-house is kept for importing vessels. Near the middle of this island are three tombs, kept constantly white-washed to serve for landmarks, and direction into the harbor. From the end of the island shoots forth a dangerous ledge of rocks, to such as do not give them what the sailors call a good birth, by steering wide of them. For the rest, it produces nothing remarkable, and yields only a scanty foddering for a few cattle; on which account it is rented out at a small rate, not exceeding, I think, five and twenty pounds, or two hundred rupees per annum.

AT the mouth of the harbor lie two small fortified rocks, called Henara, and Canara, which

which you leave on the right hand as you enter the Harbor. These were in the hands formerly of Angria, and the Siddees, or Moors, which last have been long dispossessed of them. In the possession of an enemy they are very disadvantageous to us, for their overlooking our harbor ; but I fancy they must fall sooner or later into the hands of the Marattas, who have lately swallowed up most of the neighbouring country, and to whom such a seizure can make but a trifling comparative accession of power.

OVER against our castle, at the distance of three miles, lies Butcher's island, so called from cattle being kept there for the use of Bombay. It belongs to the English, who keep an ensign's guard there, with a fort, not of much more defence than a good pigeon-house ; though in the hands of an enemy it would serve to streighten the harbor greatly. It is very small, its utmost length not being two miles, and in breadth no where scarce one.

ABOUT three miles from thence lies the island of Caranja, in size inconsiderable, and lately belonging to the Portugueze, but fell with
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many other their neighbouring places under the power of the Márattas. It affords nothing but a little rice, fowls, goats, and garden-stuff for the Bombay market.

Two miles from Butcher's island, and still fronting the fort, lies the very small but famous island of Elephanta. It can at most be about three miles in compass, and consists of almost all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you see just above the shore on your right hand, an elephant, coarsely cut out in stone, of the natural bigness, and at some little distance not impossible to be taken for a real elephant, from the stone being naturally of the color of that beast. It stands on a platform of stones of the same color. On the back of this elephant was placed standing another young one, appearing to have been all of the same stone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or history of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

RETURNING then to the foot of the hill, you ascend an easy slant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal
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of a large cavern hewn out of the solid rock, into a magnificent temple, for such surely it may be termed, considering the immense workmanship of such an excavation, and seems to me a far more bold attempt than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is then a fair entrance into this subterraneous temple, which is an oblong square, in length about eighty or ninety foot, by forty broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat a-top, and in which I could not discern any thing that did not shew it to be all of one piece. It is about ten foot high, and supported towards the middle at equidistance from the sides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a singular order. They are very massive, short in proportion to their thickness, and their capital bears some resemblance to a round cushion, pressed by the super-incumbent mountain, with which they are also of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which is at least five foot in length, and of a proportionable Breadth. But these representations have no reference, or connection either to any known history, or to the mythology of the Gentoos. They had also continued in a tolerable

rable state of preservation and wholeness, considering the remoteness of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portuguese, who made themselves masters of this place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not suffering any idols but their own, they must have been at even some pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, considering the hardness of the stone. It is said they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which so greatly deserved to be spared for the unequalled curiosity of them. Of this queen Catherine of Portugal was it seems so sensible, that she could not conceive that any traveller could return from that side of India, without visiting the wonders of this cavern ; of which too the sight appeared to me to exceed all the descriptions I had ever read of them. About two thirds of the way up this temple, on each side, and fronting each other, are two doors or outlets, into smaller grotts or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the doorway, on the right hand, are also several mutilated images, single and on groupes. In one of the last I remarked a kind of resemblance to the story of Solomon dividing the child, there standing a figure with a drawn sword, holding

holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The out-let of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve in breadth, at the upper end of which, as you turn to the right, presents itself a colonnade covered a-top, of ten or twelve foot deep, and in length answering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, an oblong square, with a door in perfect symmetry; and the whole executed in quite a different taste and manner from any of the oldest or best Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of some painting round the cornishes, not for any thing curious in the design, but for the beauty and freshness of the coloring, which must have lasted for some thousands of years, on supposing it, as there is all reason to suppose it cotemporary with the building itself. The floor of this apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to drain off or be soaked up. For it is to be observed, that even the cavern itself is not visitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardness.

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IN the mean time it seems to me somewhat surprizing, that so admirable, so stupendous a work as this, which one would think almost above the reach of human performance, cannot by any books or tradition, that ever I could hear of, be traced up to its authors, no not even by conjecture. For to give that name to the ridiculous opinion of its having been executed by Alexander's order, would be doing it too much honor. In the first place, it is clear both by history and tradition, that that conqueror never penetrated so far into India. Or was it even true that he did, What likelihood is there that he should employ his army, or any body of men, on a little island not three miles in circuit, without a drop of fresh water on it, and quite wide of his route, to hew such a temple out of the middle of a mountain, the bare excavation of which out of a solid rock must have taken up a number of years? to say nothing of the chizzeling it into the regular form of pillars, and the rest of the architecture which it to this day exhibits. Besides, there is not in the images, or sculptures, to be found the least shadow of allusion to the history, manners, or worship of the Macedonians; and what is yet more unaccountable, no not even of

of the Gentoos. The likeliest conjecture then that occurs is, that the religion of these last must have undergone some revolution (though this they strictly deny) and that this temple must be the work of the old aborigines of the country. This conjecture too is confirmed by the present Gentoos not retaining, that ever I could learn, any veneration for this place, or any regard for it, but on account of its undoubted antiquity. Perhaps too, if a proper enquiry was to be made, there might be found amongst some of the Bramins of the continent, who are the depositaries of the antientest histories, as well as of oral traditions, some accounts whereby to ascertain the epoch and origin of this next-to-miraculous work, so as to satisfy the curiosity of the lovers of antiquity, and who could never have a more noble object. In the mean time it were to be wished, that some good draughtsman would oblige the public with accurate drawings and dimensions taken on the spot, examining withal the continuity of the rock thus excavated, the hardness of it, and calculating the time, and numbers of men it must have taken up to bring it into its form. For certainly there is to be found in it where-withal to exercise worthily the pencil of a Cor-

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nelius le Brun, whose justness cannot enough be commended ; and it is impossible for mere verbal description to give an adequate idea of it.

THE reader too will please to observe, that in the dimensions I have ventured to give, I am far from warranting their exactness, any further than to the best of my gross guess by the eye : and if any one shall hereafter, on a personal survey, or on a competent draught of it, think I have exaggerated its importance, I hope he will only pity my mis-apprehension, and acquit me of any design of imposing on him, by dealing in the marvellous, nothing being certainer, than that I have said no more of it, than as it struck me, at the sight of it, and still remains on my memory.

THIS place too being so near Bombay, affords the English inhabitants there, not only an easy opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in visiting so remarkable a spot, but occasionally of a very agreeable party of pleasure. Sometimes in their way thither they dine at Butcher's island, on account of the conveniency of the officer's house to receive them.

Others

Others again prefer carrying their provisions with them, and dine in the cave itself, than which, in the very sultriest days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler pleasanter retreat. For though the air be almost on fire round you, you are no sooner entered the cave than you are refreshed with a sensible coolness. The three openings abovementioned not only furnishing sufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, that does not so much convey freshness into the cave, as it receives it from its constant temperature, preserved to it by its impenetrability to the sun, from the thickness of the mountainous mass above it. And even the light that comes into it through the portals, has lost by the way all the force of those fiery-particles, to which it gives so great an activity. For it is observed in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the exclusion of light, is in some measure an exclusion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, sensibly cools it. This rule too admits of no exception, except in places where the soil and situation are of such a nature, as to continue the heat, even after the actual presence of the sun is withdrawn ; as in Gambroon on the coast of Persia for example, where a high mas-

five hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumstances that do not allow of the air's cooling between the sun-set and sun-rise.

BUT, asking pardon for this digression, and resuming my present subject, I am to observe, that for the rest this island contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it, which is not surprizing, considering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what may be saved from the rains. The growth of the hill itself is only underwood, and grafs, which in the dry season are often set on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days, which has this benefit of fertilizing any cultivable spots on it, and of the salts being washed down by the rains into the lower grounds, a practice that is much followed in all those countries, which they call burning the land.

To the northward of the island of Bombay, and in one place, at Sion, only divided from it by a narrow pass fordable at low water, lies the

the comparatively great and fertile island of Salfett, our being defrauded of which is a loss can never enough be regretted, and is at this day so bitterly felt by the Company, and in course so detrimentally to the English interest.

It is in length about twenty six miles, and on a medium breadth of eight or nine. The soil very rich, and improvable by cultivation into the bearing of every thing producible between the tropics. It is every where well-watered, but was employed by the Portuguese chiefly to raise rice, with which it used to furnish Goa, and was called its granary. There is also great store of almost all manner of game on it, both of the fur and feather. In short, I cannot easily conceive that there can be a more agreeable spot in the universe. But it was essentially necessary to Bombay, which, with its number of inhabitants, cannot well subsist without its supplies of all manner of provisions.

NOTHING then could be harder than to disjoin it from the regality of Bombay, to which it stood formally annexed, and was con-

requently comprehended in the treaty of cession. In lieu of accomplishing which, in breach of all the rules of good faith, they put us off with a place that had no merit in it, but the bare harbor, and its being the nominal seat of government, which however, under the Portuguese, could raise it to no consideration beyond that of a poor fishing-place. And even this single island of Bombay, thus amputated of its vital member, they did not yield up, not till after they had obliged the English commander, sent out by the king with forces to take possession of it, to winter on a small wretched island down the coast, called Anjadiva, where he lost the best part of his men through sickness, want of provisions, and inconvenience of lodgment. At length however the English, wearied out with a fruitless insistence, were weak enough to compound for a part, since the whole of their due was thus perfidiously withheld from them, and being admitted to the possession of Bombay, that too was clogged with the restrictions relating to private property, which I have before-mentioned, and which might have been thought no more than reasonable, if the other part of the dominion annexed to it had been thrown in.

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THUS this part of the dower of queen Catharine of Portugal, to whom her barrenness can never be mentioned as a reproach, but only as a misfortune both to her and the nation, was almost shrunk to nothing; for the improvement of the English afterwards cannot be taken into the reckoning. Every one knows what was the fate of Tangiers on the coast of Barbary, soon after demolished and given up, on account of the expence of it not answering the ends of keeping it, for which reason only, the Portugueze were probably induced to part with it to us. Even too the sum collaterally paid for the dower of the queen, was by that good-natured king employed in an armament appropriated to the protection and defence of Portugal itself, against the designs of the Spaniards upon it, who at that time looked upon in no other light than a revolted province. But there was still a worse consequence attended that inauspicious alliance, which has not been at least generally remarked, and that is, that we undoubtedly lost the trade of Japan by it; and this will not appear a forced or far-fetched inference, to those who shall combine with it, the circumstance of the Portugueze being about that time

expelled Japan, with all the detestation and resentment of which that nation was capable, and for which it was so justifiable, after their priests being the cause of the massacre of above forty thousand revolted Japaneze, besides numbers executed with tortures, in cold blood, to whom the church of Rome has given the appellation of martyrs; though nothing is certain, that this extermination of the Christians took place purely upon a political, and by no means a religious account, which was only the necessary motive. Whilst the Portugueze or Romish Priests contented themselves with preaching the tenets of their religion, however opposite they were, or repugnant to the established one of the country; they had all the liberty, nay all the encouragement imaginable. But when that nation, always jealous of foreigners, and now wise in time, discovered that under the pretext of propagating their doctrine, they formed parties in the state, and even intermeddled with the succession which they caballed to make it fall on one of their favorers; when the Japaneze, I say, were informed, by the indiscreet confession of one of the Spanish commanders (for Portugal was then annexed to Spain) that the way his master had made use of to subdue many nations, was to

to send missionaries before, whose business it was to form a sufficient party amongst their converts, to join with such forces as should be sent to subdue the rest; no wonder that thus forewarned as they were, that fierce, suspicious people took the alarm, and were determined to get rid at any rate of such dangerous innovators, and proceeded to the extremities they did, on finding that nothing less than such extremities were necessary. But even then the English were not involved in that proscription and expulsion. They remained upon toleration, and at least upon as good a footing as the Dutch themselves. But these last, in pursuit of their scheme of engrossing this trade, made no scruple of availing themselves of so favorable a conjuncture, as that of our alliance by marriage with the king of Portugal, whom the Japanese considered with reason as their bitterest and perpetual enemy. They insinuated then to the emperor the danger to him from this connexion, and gave such plausible colors to it, and drew such probable inferences from it, that alarmed his jealousy; upon which he lumped conclusions against us, and forbade the return of any of our ships there, on pain of death, a prohibition which has not been repealed to this day.

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ALL these considerations on which I have the more insisted, as they set the injustice done us in the detention of the island of Salfett in the stronger light, evince the truth of that general remark, of the English being so liable to be over-reached in their negotiations, treaties, and compacts.

HOWEVER, it was some alleviation of the damage we sustained, that at least this island, whilst in the hands of the Portuguese, formed a barrier to us, against the invasions of the Marattas; and whilst we were at peace with that crown, and there appeared no probability but of its continuance, Bombay enjoyed in some measure, the advantages of that island's produce, and supplies of provisions, which was also a mutual benefit.

BUT such was the supine indolence, and blindness of the Portuguese government to its own interest, that notwithstanding it was so inflexibly resolute in keeping possession of this island, which was so much our due, from us, I say, who were their friends and allies, it took no sort of care to defend it against their constant and natural enemies the Marattas.

tas. And yet nothing was easier than to secure it. Those people had not then the least maritime force, and the island could only be attacked by land at one very narrow pass, fordable at ebb only, which was called the pass of Tannah. Here they had only a miserable redoubt, of no awe, or strength. At length, however, on the appearance of an approaching rupture with the Marattas, they began to see the expediency of fortifying this important post, and with an absurdity hardly to be believed, they began the construction of a fort, that would have indeed effectually answered the design, if the Marattas could be supposed such ideots as to suffer them to finish it, when they had not provided even the shadow of a force to cover the building, or repel any interruption of it. Accordingly the Marattas very quietly let them go on with the fortification, of which themselves were sure of reaping the Benefit. For before it was finished, and well-nigh finished it was, they poured their troops into the island, and easily took a fort, the walls of which were in some places open, and the batteries yet unmounted with cannon, after which they had not the least opposition worth mentioning to encounter on
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the rest of this island. The fort of Bandurah, or rather a fortified house of the jesuits, over-against Mahim, not holding out two days. In short, this great and noble island fell as easy a prey to the Marattas as themselves could have wished. By which means Bombay is now become a frontier open to their incursion, or invasion, upon the least misunderstanding; which can hardly be avoided, sooner or later, with a people naturally unstable, ignorant of their own interests, or at least, and at best very indifferent to commercial ones, preferring, like most of the Orientals, a momentary present profit, either to a lasting one, or to a much greater one, if at any distance of Time. Besides, that without any actual hostility, they may greatly streighten and distress Bombay, both by non-concurrence to its supplies from Salsett, and by interrupting their inland communication with the continent, of which the pass of Tannah is as it were the key. And with respect to these people, it is not now, as formerly, when the Europeans could over-aw them with their artillery, and superior skill of war, a superiority, which though still preserved, is not however equal to the advantage that is on their side of infinitely superior numbers, who

who are besides no longer to be frightened with the noise of powder, and in the use of which themselves are so greatly improved, as to practice mines, and mortars, in which if they do not as yet equal the Europeans, they have however learnt not to be so much afraid of them, as they at first were, when less acquainted with them. Besides, when the Portuguese first made their settlements in those parts by force, the country-powers were all disunited, and too much at variance amongst themselves, as well as too constantly kept in check by the Mogul government, to act effectually against those invaders, and oppose their fortifying in their country. But the case is now greatly reversed with them, in all these points.

SALSETT, then subjected to their dominion, reduces the tenure of Bombay itself to very precarious terms, and consequently lessens its value, in proportion as it lessens its security. Though for the present perhaps, the Gentoo government may be rightly sensible of the advantages it derives from Bombay being in the hands of the English, advantages which it knows itself too well to hope the continuance of them, upon taking it from them, yet such
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is the natural fickleness of those people, such the spirit of rapine and plunder, and the greediness for immediate profit, constitutional to them, that their is no solid dependence to be placed on their sentiments from one day to another. Nor could all the fortification of Bombay be supposed capable of holding out against them, if they are once bent on a conquest of it, especially as they look upon it as an annexion to Salsett that is wanting to compleat their conquest of the coast, and besides, as originally belonging to themselves, in quality of the natural lords of the whole country.

THEY can with ease bring from an hundred to two hundred thousand men into the field, most of them horse, inured to the climate, and not unfurnished with fire-arms and artillery. They are at home, and capable of being constantly supplied with fresh recruits. Imagine then if Bombay could expect to hold out long against them, if they should be in earnest to reduce it. How far in the right they were, I will not pretend to say, but when they first heard of the ditch projected round the town-wall, and of its dimensions, they affected at least to hold it very cheap. “ Let them alone
“ (said

“ (said they) it is not at present worth our
“ while to break with the English, but when-
“ ever that shall be the case, we can fill their
“ ditch up in one night’s time with our slip-
“ pers. I suppose that at that time they had
no idea of its being a wet one, though that
would not much increase the difficulties of the
siege.

THUS by the fatal relinquishment of our un-
doubted right, to a nation that made so ill an
use of it, we have in Salfett lost all that could
render Bombay essentially valuable. The ex-
tent of it, the fertility, the excellence of its
waters, every thing in short that could be ac-
quired, should have drawn to us a confluence
of the greatest merchants in the neighbouring
countries, and from Surat especially, who were
strongly invited by that mildness and liberty in
our government, of which they were one may
say eye-witnesses. Their sole objection was
the smallness of the island, and the indifferent
water. Whereas in Salfett there was room
enough to spread themselves, and the water as
before observed excellent. In short, by the
addition of Salfett, Bombay might have been
easily made as considerable to the English as
Batavia to the Dutch, with all their advan-
tages

tages of the neighbouring Spice-islands; as this harbor is so near Surat, the center of the Indian trade, and every way commodious for commanding the navigation of the Indian seas.

IN even the unimproved, and tradeless condition of that island, under the Portuguese government, its revenue was, upon a tolerably just estimate, computed at near five lacks of rupees, or sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum, which, to reckon at the rate Bombay has been with all its disadvantages improved by the English, is not, moderately speaking, the fourth part of what it would have produced to us, to say nothing of the inestimable benefit it would in all probability have been in other respects to us, and especially that of our then having every thing necessary within ourselves.

FOR the rest, except the abundant riches of nature, there is nothing remarkable in it but the ruins of a place called Canara, being excavations of rocks, supposed cotemporary with that of Elephanta, and are much more numerous, but none of them approaching to it in bigness or workmanship.

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THE mountains of it are pretty high, and there is a tradition that they emerged together with the subjacent land out of the sea, by a violent earthquake: to confirm which it is pretended, that there was on the top of the highest hill, not many years ago, found a stone-anchor, such as was antiently used for the vessels of that country; but I cannot say, that I ever heard this story was founded on any good authority.

IF any one however should hereafter attempt a survey or description of Elephanta, it will doubtless be also worth his while to pass over to Salfett, and take a view of Canara, as it may probably furnish him with lights, and conjectures, by the comparison of both.

WHEN this island then was lost to the Portuguese, and consequently the jesuits, who were owners of much the largest part of the land, were the greatest sufferers, none were however less pitied even by the Portuguese themselves, especially by those from whose families their arts had extorted their possessions. Their insolence too was as boundless as their avarice, which last has prevented the island
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from being fortified, whilst it was yet time, from their backwardness to contribute their quota of the charges. Thus the more they had to lose, the less were they willing to pay towards securing it.

It was however a melancholic sight on the loss of Salsett, to see the many families forced to seek refuge on Bombay, and amongst them some Portuguese Hidalgos, or noblemen, reduced of a sudden from very flourishing circumstances to utter beggary. They found however from the usual generosity of the English, and notwithstanding the just matter of complaint they had against their nation, especially on the occasion of that very island, the loss of which through such scandalous negligence brought so great a danger home to their own doors, they found, I say, an hospitable refuge, and all the friendly entertainment and consolation they could wish. One of them was extremely pitied by the English, a gentleman called John de Souza Ferras, who was before that time possessor of a very considerable estate in Salsett, and who had greatly endeared himself to the English by his kind and generous reception of them at his house whenever

ever

ever the occasion offered. He continues I believe to this day, if alive at Bombay, very much careffed and esteemed by the English gentlemen who were acquainted with him in his prosperity.

Of the MARATTAS.

AFTER speaking of the islands, there remains to add some account of the continent bordering upon Bombay, to which one may say it is, in some measure contiguous, since by the means of the two forts at Sion, and Tannah, one may pass to it without taking boat; but as all that is necessary to be mentioned of it is included in the description to be here given of the Marattas, who are lords of all the neighbouring parts of it, there is no need of making a separate article of it.

THE name of Marattas is, I have reason to think, a derivation, in their country-language, or by corruption, from Mar-Rajah the chief, or rather, to speak more justly, the king of that powerful tribe, having all the distinction

and essence of sovereign power, centering in his person. But this name of Marattas is purely local, and confined to their own country ; for all over India, and no farther off than Surat, they are more currently known by the appellation of Ghenims, unless their late spread of conquest should have more generalized it than it was before. As to the word Ghenim, if I am not greatly mistaken, it imports as much as free-booter, and is bestowed not only on the Marattas, but all those mountaineer tribes of the Gentoos, who commonly make a war rather of pillage or plunder, than a regular one for glory or conquest.

BUT to give some idea of this people at present so powerful, that they have brought near all Indostan under their subjection, and give laws even to the Mogul government, it will be necessary to trace them summarily to their origin.

IT is then to be observed, that when the Mongul-tartars, whence the title of Mogul is apparently derived, founded their sovereignty upon the expulsion of the Pattan-Moors, and in proportion as they extended their conquests
over

over the country, many of the aborigines Gentoos, who were incapable of making head against them in the field, or plains, and unwilling to submit to the yoke from the sworn enemies to the Gentoo-worship, who, wherever they penetrated by force of arms, made it a point of religion to destroy their temples and idols, with all the fury of bigot-zeal, they retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses, upon which Aurenzeb gave them the humorous nick-name of Mountain-rats. But then, as these Gentoos were split into various tribes, under chiefs of different families, whose disunion had already facilitated the invasion of the country, first to the Pattans, and then to the Moguls; the dissensions and jealousies still continued in force enough to hinder them from uniting against the common enemy. Of this the Moguls, in the flourishing state of their empire, knew perfectly well how to take the advantage, and put in practice that great state maxim of dividing in order to govern. What then by courting some, by menacing others, and by awing all of them with standing armies, which if they could not penetrate into their strong holds, or absolutely

conquer them, could still straiten and distress them, they brought several of their Rajahs under a kind of tributary subjection, and had art and interest enough to oppose them to another. Some of them even came occasionally to court, and not only paid personal homage to the Mogul, but did military duty and service round the court, whilst they still reserved their respective dominions in the mountains. Whilst then the Moguls continued this practice of sowing dissensions amongst those warlike tribes, and of employing occasionally and aptly the ways of rigor, or of compliance, to intimidate or soothe powers, which were impenetrable for their armies to destroy, that empire enjoyed a tolerable state of peace and security. But as soon as the government began to relax on that capital point, having fallen into the hands of a succession of indolent princes, engrossed by the pleasures of their seraglio's, and weakened by the contempt into which their negligence plunged them; the Rajah soon perceived the change, and lifted their heads upon it. They could easily too have recovered the dominion of the whole country out of the Mogul's hands, if they had not still persisted in such their disunion, that they

they could not agree amongst themselves who should possess the empire. They had then rather see it in its nominal subjection to the Tartar family, than any one of their own nation assume it over the rest, and each minding only to incroach upon it for his own particular benefit, the whole state of Indostan remained and still remains a common prey to their several incursions, and devastations, which is the only point in which these Rajahs agree.

IT was then towards the latter end of Aurengzeb's days, that one of those Rajahs, called Sevajee, or rather Sow-rajah, took the advantage of that monarch's declining as well in judgment as in years, set up openly the standard of revolt, and bearded him with the pillage twice repeated of Surat, the capital town of trade of his whole dominions. Nay so secure was he of his point in it, so assured of the negligence and supineness of the government, that he intimated to the town the day he had prefixed for entering and plundering it, and was as good as his word, not having met with the least opposition, unless in the English and Dutch factories, whose posture of defence saved them from sharing the common fate.

By this exploit, and other successful enterprises on the Mogul-dominions, he acquired such strength and reputation, as enabled him to give a certain consistence, and regular form of government to that assemblage of freebooters, which he had collected out of the mountains of Decan, and whom the temptation of pillage had united under his standard. Master then, by continual encroachments every way round him, of a considerable and populous body of dominion, he assumed the title now continued to his successors of Mar-rajah, or Arch-rajah, and appeared in a condition to give laws to the Mogul empire, being at the worst assured of there being no human possibility of coming at or driving him out of his inaccessible retreats in the mountains. Yet, it is observable, that all the time that he was acting thus in open defiance to the Mogul emperor, he never professedly threw off a nominal submission to his throne. He had even the assurance to style himself his general in Decan. These measures he doubtless kept out of regard to the jealousy of the other Rajahs, who had not yet so openly renounced their vassalage, and who differed from him however in nothing but their saving appearances

ances more, whilst they claimed in fact as absolute an independence.

HIS successors pursued invariably his system of politics, and activity. And as their dominions encreased, they set on foot more numerous and more regular armies, under trusty generals, and now from a set of banditti or free-booters assumed a more national form, without however departing in the least from their original spirit of rapine and plunder. One would otherwise naturally think, that as fast as they formed their state into order and consistence, they would encourage trade, which is every where, by civilized nations, consider'd as one of its chief supports. But, hitherto at least they have given no indication, of a commercial turn ; on the contrary, wherever their arms have penetrated, or but their influence extended, they have destroyed all trade and manufactures. On the coast, a little to the southward of Bombay, there existed not long since some very considerable manufactures, which were annihilated by the oppression and harassments exercised on the artizans, inso-much that there is not the footstep of them left. At present they seem to have placed their
whole

whole dependence on the sword. Nor do they want for great caution, conduct, and policy in the extention of their dominions. They seem in no hurry for pushing their conquest, but patiently wait for their best time and opportunity. And even where they meet with a repulse, they yield with great suppleness to the force of the conjuncture, they retreat with as good a grace as if they had succeeded, and prepare their measures coolly to return afresh as opportunity may favor them.

THEY have encouraged deserters from the European nations, from whom they learnt the art of engineering, as far as the skill or knowledge of those deserters reached, the Indians in general being ready imitators to a certain point, or standard, at which they commonly stop, not being curious of perfection in any thing. It has however been observed, that though they gave such deserters a pretty high pay, compared to the small one with which they satisfy their own natives, should they save or hoard up any sum, which by the by they rarely do, they do not suffer them to quit the country, unless at the hazard of a dangerous escape, or unless they purchase their freedom with

with a delivery of all they are worth. And, in truth, and consistently enough with such treatment, no Europeans take service amongst them, but such as are of desperate fortunes, or have committed crimes that have obliged them to seek refuge amongst them. When too they have exhausted their youth, strength, and power of service, they are suffered to languish in misery and poverty, neglected and despised by those their employers.

By this means however the Marattas have been rendered capable of forming regular sieges, with which they were before utterly unacquainted. Thus, when they took Bassaim from the Portuguese, a place strongly fortified, at least supposed so against any attempts of theirs, which is situate on the coast on the continent a few miles to the northward of Bombay, they erected regular batteries, threw in bomb-shells, and proceeded by sap and mine, till the town saw itself forced to surrender.

YET with all this, their troops are fitter for a war of incursion, than for regular campaigns. They are chiefly composed of land-tillers, they call Corumbees, with whom their seed-time
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and harvest are essential points to be consulted, and adjusted to their expeditions, for their manner of government admitting no importations, or material supplies from without, they would run the hazard of a famine on any deficiency of cultivation. Thus they are equally bred to agriculture and arms, and perhaps are not the worse soldiers for this alternation. Their pay is extremely small, and that generally not furnished in money, but in rice, tobacco, salt, pieces of apparel, and other necessaries of life, which are there at a cheap rate. And indeed otherwise their bringing such numerous armies into the field could not be accounted for, considering their exclusion of trade.

THEIR horses, on which they chiefly rely, are a small but hardy breed, like that of the mountains of Scotland, inured to fatigue, and of secure footing for the rugged roads amongst the hills, and a very small matter of forage serves them.

FOR arms, a great many of them have muskets, but generally indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks. These they use chiefly in bush-fighting, where when they have made
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a discharge, they retreat in a hurry to their main body. But their chief dependence is on their swords and targets. Their swords are, generally speaking, of an admirable temper, and they are well trained up to the exercise of them; so that on all occasions in battle, they quit their musket, and betake themselves to them with great success. They are so curious in the blades, that they hold the European broad swords in great contempt, especially the common-sale ones, that are sent out by our ships. When the *Darby*, captain *Ansell*, was so scandalously taken by a few of *Angria's* grabs, whose marines are exactly the same as the *Marattas*, and often some of their subjects; there fell into *Angria's* hands, amongst a great quantity of other valuable military stores, some chests of sword blades, on examining of which *Angria* said, that the English swords were only fit to cut butter with.

As to their targets, they are exactly round, convexing almost to a point on the out-side, light, and covered with so smooth and hard a varnish or lacquer, that if tolerably good, they will easily turn a pistol-ball, and at some little distance a musket one.

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THEY also have among them excellent flingers, and archers, but of these they make lately less account since the introduction of fire-arms, though, considering their imperfection in the management of these last, it is a query whether they are much gainers by the change.

As to the rest of their dress, nothing can be imagined meaner. A roll of coarse musling round their heads, to which they give the name of puckery, or turbant, or perhaps a bit of cloth, or striped callico, or cuttance-cap ; a lungee or clout, barely to cover their nakedness, and a pamree or loose mantle to throw over their shoulders, or to lye on upon the ground, composes the whole of their wardrobe. This however is only to be understood of their common men, though the officers do not much out-figure them. So that nothing can present a more rag-a-muffin appearance than these troops, together with their little ill-favored horses, the furniture of which is in a stile answerable to the rest.

THEN their diet is extremely portable ; they require no great magazines of provisions, no
ovens,

ovens, or embarrassment of waggons. A little rice, and a leathern flask for water, which they call a Metarra, are all that is requisite, so that every soldier may easily carry his own allowance: nor do the officers fare more sumptuously, nothing being so plain as their food, especially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and not too without great stratagem and cunning.

AGAINST such numbers then, with the advantage of being in their own country, it is not very probable, that any force we could afford from Europe should materially or ultimately prevail. Otherwise nothing could be more for the English interest, than endeavouring to reconquer the island of Salfett from them, for reasons too obvious to need a recapitulation here. But it is now only mentioned to explode a proposal I am told was once made of such an attempt. The situation of Bombay is however now rendered so precarious, that there is no such thing as either quarrelling with the Marattas to advantage, nor trusting to them with safety, nor indeed seeing any end of this dilemma.

If

If they were a people capable of hearing reason on their true permanent interests, in contradistinction to their momentary ones, they might easily see that Bombay, in the hands of the English, is a greater advantage to them, than if it was in their own ; as it is a great inlet of trade into all their dominions that lye round it, by means of the several creeks and rivers that communicate with that harbour, a trade which themselves for many reasons could not expect to invite or bring into them. They are also well assured, that the English court no settlements but on account of their commerce, always beneficial to the countries round about, and never dangerous to them, from its not being attended with the spirit of conquest, even their forts being rather mere warehouses than curbs upon the natives. These are arguments too, of the force of which they will sometimes own themselves convinced, and perhaps really are so at the time, but then there is no dependence on their continuance in that mind. A change of their ministers, a fancy that shall take them in the head, that Bombay would afford a good present pillage, or a scheme of humoring their troops, who are
never

never better pleased than with a promise of plunder ; any of these, or the like motives, are sufficient to make them break of a sudden thorough all their resolutions, and ties of a greater interest ; and what is more, though known to themselves to be so.

THE principal men amongst them, though probably better informed themselves, cannot root out of the minds of the bulk of that people in general, a strong notion, that Bombay encloses great riches, an idea which they do not fail of annexing to trade, and which, such is their constitutional indisposition towards it, they are not yet tempted to introduce, or improve in their own dominions. This false opinion however they have of the advantage accruing to the Company from the possession of Bombay, though it is far from paying its own charges, and is only kept for the convenience of its other settlements and factories, has such an influence, that they think no demands too exorbitant for purchasing their toleration and tranquillity.

As an instance of this way of thinking in those people, may be produced the terms on

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which Sambajee Angria insisted, when certain overtures of peace were set on foot between him and the government of Bombay. After some preface on the prodigious advantages of the English trade on that coast, which must in course enable them to afford what he demanded, he confined himself however to no larger a sum than twelve lacks of rupees, or about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum, which he required in consideration of his desistance from his hostilities, and non-interruption of our navigation. I do not know that he ever sunk his demand afterwards, but only that the English government treated his proposal with the contempt it deserved, and made a jest of it. Nor was this indeed worth mentioning, but to shew the popular opinion in those parts of the wealth of the English, which inspires the country-government less with respect, than with a desire of plundering them.

NOR can this unfavorable disposition of the Marattas towards foreign merchants be much wondered at, when it is equally and more so towards those of their own country. For the few that are induced to live under their government,

vernment, for the sake of the gain to be made on the traffick of the absolutely necessaries of life, are obliged to conceal, as they would murder, their being in good circumstances. Towards which they affect all the appearances of poverty, in their houses, dress, and all externals, to avoid being pointed out as a prey to their rapacious government, which is sure ultimately not to spare any rich subjects, tho' they will sometimes leave them quietly for a long time to gather a wealth, which they look on as so much in bank for themselves, whenever they please to call it in. And in this point they make no distinction of any rank or condition, but that of the great military officers, whose property is more respected for obvious reasons of state. They are their instruments of oppression, whom it is not so safe to disoblige or discourage. But, though they are Gentoos, whom one would in course think awed by their priests or bramins, they spare them no more than the rest, when they are reputed rich, and will, without standing upon any ceremony with them, use menaces, and even tortures, to squeeze money out of them. This shews then they are either not over-loaded with religious scruples, or that they look

on the temporalities of their priests, as making no part of the sacredness of their function, and that they are not a whit disqualified for officiating their spiritual duties by their want of worldly wealth.

As this rapaciousness is however chiefly the characteristic of the Gentoo government, whereas that of the Moors or Moguls is much more temperate and just, it is often the reason why those of their subjects, who can escape the dangerous repute of being rich, bury their wealth in secret places, unknown often to their nearest relations, and even to their heirs, when by chance they died suddenly, or at a distance from their homes. And such too is their tenaciousness of these treasures, that when some have in consequence of their falling under the suspicion of wealth, have been exposed to violent tortures, they have had the constancy to hold out, and keep the secret of their hoards, though in all other points they were known to be the arrantest cowards. In the mean time, by unexaggerated accounts, it is amazing to reflect what immense treasures have been buried and lost on solely this principle of preservation, for it is an utter fable, that they are looked
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upon as useful to them in the other life. A proof of which is, that the same sort of people are never known to bury their treasures under a free government, where they are not afraid of being pillaged, and where they can safely leave them to their heirs. I have heard it averred, that the sums of money thus interred in the course of past ages, at least equal those in present circulation all over Indostan. Perhaps this estimate is hyperbolical, though there are not wanting good reasons to countenance it.

So much however is certain, that the Gentoo merchants, especially the Banyans, and even the Bramins or Gentoo-priests, prefer living under a Moorish government, or indeed any government to that of the Gentoos, being at least sure that they can no where meet with less safety, or more oppressive exactions. Surat is one instance of this, which is crowded with Gentoo merchants, and mechanics of all sorts, where, though they are some time exposed to the avarice and vexations of bad governors, they are only transient, and partial storms; whereas the Gentoo government is one continued and universal system of violence and injustice.

SUCH are the people now the immediate neighbours of Bombay, in whose character nevertheless there is something paradoxical. For though too perfidious to be ever safely trusted, at least they do not, like a polite neighbouring nation in Europe, affect a parade of sincerity or good faith. They do not desire to be taken for honefter than they are, and would be the first to laugh at those who should repose any confidence in them. They make no professions of friendship beyond words of common course, or set formularies of compliments, which they do not expect should be taken for more than they are worth. They do not set forth any pompous manifests, deckt with the false colors of eloquence, of their good intentions to the peace of mankind, at the instant that they are taking all the measures in their power to disturb it. They consider themselves always in a state of war open or understood with those powers whose dominions they covet, and consequently that all feints, stratagems or advantages are fair, as from enemy to enemy.

TREACHEROUS too as they constitutionally are, they yet are not accusable of that common

mon attendant on treachery, cruelty. They are not accounted sanguinary. They do not usually rob and murder, unless where this last is absolutely necessary to the first, and then doubtless they do not stick at it. What prisoners they make in war they do not detain, but get rid of them as soon as possible, to save the charges and trouble of keeping them; unless where any ransom is in view, and then they will not scruple using the harshest means towards extorting what they expect from them. Slaves they rarely make, unless they should have a view of a market for them; for they would make money of any thing. But though slaves are often bought in India, there is no settled vend for such as are taken in war. It is chiefly in times of famine that parents are sometimes driven to dispose of their children to the Europeans, or Moors, for I never could learn that the Gentoos dealt in them. Neither can the Gentoos keep a slave under their roof of any religion but their own, on account of the profanation their law attributes to it. Besides, that service is so extremely cheap amongst those people, that there are always numbers of domestics to be found, that are ready to serve for bare victuals and raiment.

SLAVERY then being out of the question in the incursions of those people, whose sole object is present plunder, they are the less a terror to the neighbouring countries, and especially to the poor land-tillers and peasants, who generally keep nothing in their huts worth carrying away, and thus are abundantly defended from losses by having nothing to lose.

AND even in their plundering of towns, unless actuated by some extraordinary motive of resentment, they observe a certain moderation. Thus, for example, when they pillaged Surat, besides their respecting the lives of the unresisting inhabitants, and the saving the houses from fire, they were far from rigorously ransacking it; it being a maxim with them (to use their own phrase) not to pluck up a beard by the roots, but to shave it, so that it may grow again, against another opportunity.

UPON the whole then, they may be pronounced a sort of a civilized nation of banditti, who, it is not impossible, though at present it does not seem very probable, may in process of time be brought to adopt more social maxims

of government, and rise into dignity and rank with the other lawful or regular Powers.

THE Mar-rajah, the sovereign of these people, generally keeps his court, or more properly speaking, considering their purely military constitution, his head quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Decan; and if reports do not bely it, it must be the most compleatly impregnable place in the universe. It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as but by one narrow pathway, to be accessible to human footing, with this advantage, that the enclosure of it is large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow grain sufficient for the maintenance of its garrison, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleasure defend it against the greatest armies that could be brought against it; not to mention that the passes and defiles leading to it amongst the mountains, are so rugged and narrow, that the Marattas must be all asleep, to suffer any armies to penetrate to that fortress.

HERE then the Mar-rajah ofteneft resides, with a kind of military court, composed of his
generals

generals and officers, and keeps all the state of a sovereign prince, with all the insignia of royalty about him, one of which, peculiar to the Rajah's of Indostan, is their long vest, which yet only differs from that of other common ones, in the make towards the bottom, being sloped into a peak downwards on each side.

AT this court then, both the sovereign and the courtiers are so entirely engrossed with their attention to military operations, that having that super-addition to the natural indolence of the orientalists in general with respect to arts and sciences, they appear entirely uncurious of the European manufactures, or rarities, whether of nature or art. In vain then would be shewn to them any of those exquisite pieces of workmanship, which are produced by our artists. They would indeed, out of civility, praise them with an air of careless indifference, and their natural covetousness would perhaps not suffer them to be sorry for being presented with them, but then they would much rather receive the equivalent in sheer money, diamonds, or precious stones, of which the currency is to the full as regularly settled. This tastelessness too is so thoroughly rooted in them, that

that though no people are fonder of decking out their women with rich jewels, yet they would prefer those of their own workmen's comparative coarse and clumsy setting, to those of a Robertson or a Lacam, and that not from any laudable partiality towards their own country-men, but purely from the want of a relish for perfection, which makes them contented with what they have a habit of daily seeing. Thus too a watch of the beautifullest nicest make, is only valuable to them according to the metal it contains; and a painting of Raphael's or Titian's would move them no more than it would a horse.

IN the profound ignorance then in which they are bred, and in which their parts which are naturally extreamly lively remain immerfed, or receive at the hands of tradition a wrong direction, it is not surprizing, that they should be liable to take strong impressions of such gross errors and prejudices, as those in favor of judicial astrology, of which it is but so lately that the politeft courts in Europe have shaken off the yoke. These people then in general are scrupulously addicted to believe in that vain science, and religiously observe the good or bad days,

days, indicated to them by their astrologers, who are chiefly Bramins, and whom they consult on all occasions; and this folly indeed is no more than they have in common with the rest of the Orientalists. But their credulity extends yet farther, to the opinion they have of wizards, and forcereffes, of whom they tell many stories that they firmly believe. One of them, which I had from a Gentoo who came from that country, and very gravely assured me of the truth of it, I take leave to relate, not most certainly as either believing or expecting it to be believed, but purely as a specimen of the genius of invention of those people, with respect to any thing that favors their credulity.

THE present Mar-rajah being informed of the great reputation of a certain woman in his dominions for sorcery, and fortune-telling, sent for her to court, with an intention to put her to death, on what particular provocation was not said, but first had the curiosity to see her. The woman accordingly appeared before him. She was then about forty, very corpulent, and not of an ill presence. He asked her sternly, if she knew why he had sent for her. "Yes," answered she (with the utmost intrepidity "and

“ and unconcern) you have sent for me to take
“ away my life ; but before you proceed to
“ that, I hope you will, for your own sake,
“ permit me to give you a salutary warning.”

Curiosity, or perhaps the apprehension natural to that prejudice which admits of the possibility of witchcraft, moving the Rajah's assent to it, she ordered two fowls to be produced, the one a cock, the other a hen. The cock was set down on the ground, full of life and spirits ; then taking the hen, she desired the Rajah to mark the consequence. At these words she

wrung the neck of the hen off, when at the same time the cock, though untouched by any one, imitating all the convulsions and agonies of its death, accompanied the hen in it.

“ This, Sir, (said she then to the Rajah determinately) remember to be a type of your
“ fate and mine.” The Rajah struck with this, not only desisted from his intention, but entreated her to be near his person, settled a considerable pension on her, ordered her a palankin and attendance, and in short treated her thenceforwards like a person, with whose life his own was wound up.

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As to the persons of the Marattas, they are generally a clean-limbed, strait people, it being very rare to see any deformed people amongst them. Some of them too are muscular large-bodied men, but whether their mostly vegetable diet only breeds flashy flesh, or that they are never trained up to a proper exercise of their bodily strength, which last I rather believe, because it is certain, that even in this hot climate, there are often to be found, as at Surat, porters who will carry a weight equal to what any Europeans will; certain it is however, that they are in battle easily overborn, not only by the Europeans, but by the Mogul's troops, with neither of whom they have any chance, but either with greatly superior numbers, or from the flight and dexterity with which they handle their swords.

THEIR complexions are of all shades, from the black to the light-brown; but it is observed, they are fairer in proportion of their distance from the sea-side, and of their birth amongst the mountains the farthest remote from it. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. Besides shaving their heads, of which

which they religiously preserve in the middle of it a lock at full length, so as to tie up, and hang down behind; the Marattas are distinguished from the Moors, by two favorite curls they wear on each side just above the ear, which appearing from under their turbants, gives them a kind of effeminate look.

THEIR women are generally very handsome, whilst the bloom of youth continues; but that soon fading, there are few that preserves the charms of their shape and skin till thirty, at which they are commonly past child-bearing. They are reckoned very faithful and affectionate to their husbands, who do not appear to be infected with the oriental taint of jealousy. In this country however, the barbarous custom still continues, as indeed none are so tenacious of old customs as the Gentoos, of women burning, or being buried (for there is one tribe that buries their dead) with their husbands. And what is more, the higher the rank of the husband is, the greater is the incumbence on the wife, to follow him in this manner; and the Rajahs especially have several of their wives burned with them. The ceremony of which, being so amply described in

in many authors, acquits me of entering into any further of it here, besides that, I never was myself an eye-witness to it. I believe, however, that the story of this custom being owing to the Bramins devising it, to put a stop to the frequency of the womens poisoning their husbands, on every slight quarrel, to be an over-refinement of conjecture, as false as it is injurious to the women of this country, no such practice being either attested by creditable tradition, or warranted by the behaviour of the other Indian women not subjected to this custom, and who are generally of a mould of mind much too soft and tender, to incur even the suspicion of such a detestable barbarity. I rather then attribute it to the strength of passion, always the greatest in the weakest minds, from the greater power of all impressions on them, and of which the Bramins knew how to take the advantage, not only for the sake of paying their court to the leading men of the country, whose vanity, and that sort of jealousy that is founded upon it, were thus flattered at the expence of a sex, in those parts perfectly enslaved to them, and never enough considered by them, but also for the sake of the dreadful power of religious persuasion

suasion it armed them with, to establish a ceremony that is never but attended with signal emolument to themselves, and that inspires an awe or veneration for them the conductors of it.

THE Marattas then as being Gentoos do but agree in this, as they do in most other points in religion and manners with the rest of the Gento nations, of which in its place will be given a more particular account. And in the meantime, from what has been said, the situation specifically of Bombay with respect to these people, and to what is to be hoped or feared from them, may not be unsufficiently collected.

Of ANGRIA, *and his* SUCCESSORS.

CONAJEE ANGRIA, the father of the present Angrias, having made so remarkable figure in the history of those parts, and especially relatively to the English interest in them, for having been the first founder of a very considerable Piratical State, and so many fabulous stories having been imposed on the publick concerning his birth, first rise, and

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progress, I hope I shall be excused offering to its curiosity, the best and most authentic account I could obtain concerning him.

BUT first it is necessary to explode one notable absurdity I met with lately in a printed letter, pretended to be dated from that coast; in which, besides many other fictions, it is said, that Angria being originally a Moor, or Musfulman, at length married the Rajah's own daughter, upon his turning Gentoo. This alliance is however no more than an historical falsity, that does not include an absolute impossibility. But as to his conversion from Mahometism to Gentilism, it is well known, that such a circumstance is entirely impracticable. A Gentoo may very well turn Moor, but no Moor, nor indeed any other religionist, can be admitted to turn Gentoo, which is exclusively and unalterably dependent upon birth, as shall be shewn more at large hereafter.

THE Account then I procured, whilst I was at Bombay, seems to me the more just for its being free from the marvellous, or indeed from improbability.

CONAJEE

CONAJEE ANGRIA was originally of a very obscure birth, in some nook of Decan, and served sometime at Bassaim, a Portugueze Hidalgo, in quality of a mushall, or torch-bearer, till either disgusted with that condition, or having other views, he in the latter end of the last century listed as a common soldier, in a little fort on the coast of Decan, that belonged to one of those petty independent governors, who at that time were common enough, having small districts under them for the maintenance of their garrisons. In one of these then, Angria being taken into the service, without any mark of distinction, and only in quality of a private man, a mutiny arose in the garrison, on account of the avarice of the governor withholding the pay of the soldiers. But whether Angria first raised it, or afterwards took the lead in it, I cannot say, but his activity and boldness in conducting it to the end, which was no other than murdering the governor, and seizing the fort, so recommended him to his accomplices, that they unanimously conferred the command of it on him, and engaged to obey and stand by him. In consequence of this step, which in those times of general violence and division of power passed

unnoticed and unpunished, Angria, who wanted for neither resolution or prudence, established himself in his usurpation, by rendering it not only useful to those who had thus set him up, but to the Marattas, whose power he had chiefly to dread, and to whose principles of government he did no more than conform, in the way of life he proposed.

IN the infancy however of his power he could do no more than creep. He manned out from his garrison a few small armed vessels called gallevats, and cruized upon such unarmed trading ones upon that coast as he could master. His success in which at once enabled him to make such presents at the court of the Mar-rajah, as served to purchase its connivance at those his practices at sea, of which the Marattas procedure at land were exactly the model; — to flesh his adherents with the spoils which he shared with them, — and to encrease his force both by sea and land.

THE reputation then of his good fortune spreading over a coast, to which the practice of piracy was far from unknown, or accompanied with any note of infamy, drew a number
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ber of adventurers, especially of Gentoos, to engage with him; which reinforcements as they added to his power, so they enabled him to extend his possessions along the shore, as well as to augment his naval force. The coast was then divided into so many different governments in the hands of the Marattas, Portuguese, Moors, and lastly, as lastly settled there, the English at Bombay, that none of them agreeing in any point of common interest with one another, Angria had all the opportunity he could wish, to form and carry into execution his plans of aggrandizement, under the connivance especially of the Marattas, whose vassal he professed himself, and who, not being themselves either at leisure, or in the inclination of cultivating a marine force, were glad to see any one undertake it, under their name and authority, and looked on him as a proper instrument whom they could call to an account, or crush at pleasure. Events have since shewn that they did not entirely judge wrong.

In the mean time, Angria proceeded improving his naval force, and from gallevats, or armed boats, rose to the having of grabs, or

larger vessels with prows mounted with nine pounders, a circumstance which began to alarm the English, who might probably have easily crushed him in the beginning, but had indolently suffered him to increase his power, whilst it only affected the small trading vessels of the natives, nay, were not perhaps sorry for his interruption of their navigation, from the impolitic idea, that it would but turn the channel of the trade and freight, into their better equipped vessels, which they did not foresee might, as fast as Angria's power encreased, run the same danger from him.

ANGRIA then, who had found means to dispossess other petty chiefs of their forts, and lands, through the acquiescence of the Marattas, and his own enterprizing genius; having collaterally acquired vessels of greater force, ventured at length to break with our flag, and took some English vessels trading upon that coast, plundered the cargoes, and made the men prisoners, subject to a ransom.

THIS naturally alarmed the Government of Bombay, which accordingly expostulated with him on his piratical procedure, to the which

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he made no further a satisfactory answer, than that disclaiming the title of Pirate, he assumes that of admiral to the Mar-rajah, to whom he insisted that the sovereignty of those Seas belonged, and that he was determined to maintain it, against all such as should refuse to acknowledge, or not take his passes. And as one may well imagine these were terms to which the English Government could not stoop, he went on with his usual depredations.

THIS obliged the East India Company to keep a constant marine on foot to hold him in check, and to protect the trade and navigation of those seas, an incumbence which greatly inflamed the charges of that Presidency. Angria however made a shift to support himself by cruizing indistinctly on all nations, and by picking up such stragglers as ventured on the coast without convoy. Yet he took care never to venture below mount Dilly, or far to the northward, for fear of being intercepted and cut off his port by the English force that was employed to watch his motions.

SOME insults too that he offered to the Portuguese, made them in the year 1719 unite

forces, and attempt a descent on his territories, with a view to rout him out of Colabba, of which the siege was determined. Commodore Matthews and the Viceroy commanded the combined forces, but through mismanagement, and the coming down of the Marattas to the assistance of Angria, they were forced to desist from the enterprize, and to reembark their Men.

AFTER this, Angria grew more in insolence and power, and by the extent of his dominions, and the increase of his marine, was risen to such a pitch, that he gave jealousy to the Marattas themselves, towards whom he began to give himself certain airs of independence, that made them conceive he was sure enough of his strength, before he would venture to treat them so. No open rupture however ensued, and about 1731 he died, not in a very advanced age, being I think about sixty.

HE was a well-set corpulent man, rather blacker than commonly the Decaners are; full faced, with a sparkling eye, and stern countenance; he was very severe in his commands, and exact in punishing; otherwise liberal to his

his officers and soldiers, with whom he affected a sort of military frankness, not to say familiarity. He was too, like the Marattas, very careless of keeping faith, and excused the not making any peace with him, on which it was foreknown that no reliance could be had.

AFTER his death, two sons of his claimed the succession, Sambajee Angria, and Monackjee Angria, whom, for what reason I know not, Sambajee treated as illegitimate. However, Monackjee Angria made his party good so far, that he kept Colabba, and its district, which is just in the mouth of Bombay harbour; and Sambajee Angria had for his share Ghereeah Sivandrook, with the southern territories, with much the greatest part of the naval force that adhered to him. A partition which could not but be grateful to the Marattas, who were relieved from their apprehensions, by seeing a Power thus weakened, of which they were not without reason jealous. Accordingly they supported Monackjee's pretensions, who out of fear of his brother, courted also the friendship and protection of the English, who very cordially entered into treaty with him thereon, and were of great service
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to him, towards preventing his brother coming in force by sea against him, to recover Colabba, in which he had always a secret party who were enemies to Monackjee on account of those pacific intentions, which perhaps his policy and interest rather dictated to him, than his natural inclination.

THE southern Angria however retained still force enough to do the English a great deal of mischief, and accordingly took their trading ships, both of the country, and from Europe, and even occasionally the armed vessels, when he could surprize and overpower them.

THIS practise then he still kept on, till drawing down the resentment of the Marattas upon him, they, in conjunction with the English, lately, under Commodore Mitchell, took his forts of Sevendrook and Ghereeah, and utterly destroyed his naval power, by burning or seizing his grabs and gallevats in the harbor.

It has been however proposed as a doubt, whether the English have acted for their interest, in their joining to ruin an enemy, it is true, but an enemy, in whose Place another
power

power far superior in strength is substituted, and whom there is no more safely trusting than Angria himself.

THIS argument would be very just, if the Marattas were not already, by their neighborhood to Bombay, in a condition to do us so much mischief by land, that the consideration of what they can ever do against us by Sea is absorbed in it. It may not then be unreasonable to think, that it is better to have this nation only to deal with, on the best Terms of friendship that can be procured, than to continue in a constant state of hostility with a petty pirate, from whom no peace could ever be hoped, and who was unsuppressible, without a greater land-force than we could possibly bring against him, since even granted, that the Marattas could raise a marine superior to that of Angria, a breach with them by sea could not be more fatal than the one at land, which would of course be implied in it. For certainly Bombay, according to all human appearance, ceases to be tenable, that instant that the Marattas determinately resolve the conquest of it, which will not appear a hazarded conjecture to those who know the extent of the Maratta's power, especially now
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their arms are at liberty, and free from any awe of the Mogul's. But, besides, even allowing that the fortifications of Bombay were able to hold out against such forces as they could easily bring against them, if their convert but their design into a scheme of blocking up the passes, of harassing the island with incursions, and straitening it for provisions, they can only with a little more time, but with less danger, and no inconvenience to themselves who are at home, render the tenure of it impracticable, or at least useless to us. If they can possibly however be brought to know their own interest, or knowing it, to adhere to it, this can never be the case.

Of SURAT, and the Mogul Government.

SURAT has hitherto been so closely connected with our Government at Bombay, that some account of it falls naturally within my plan, but especially as it serves for introduction to an attempt of some definition of the Mogul Government, in which the English are so much concerned,

concerned, and which for many years past has been a kind of political paradox.

SURAT then is situate on the continent a little to the northward of Bombay, about sixteen or twenty miles up the river Tappee, on the right hand side as you go up. The river itself is nothing remarkable, but the city on the banks of it is perhaps one of the greatest instances in the known world, of the power of trade to bring in so little a time wealth, arts and population, to any spot where it can be brought to settle.

It is not later than the middle of the last century that this place was the repair of a few merchants, who under the shelter of an old insignificant castle, formed up a town, which in the process of a few years, became one of the most considerable in the world, not only for trade but size, being at least as large, and to the full as populous as London within the walls, and contains a number of very good houses, according to the Indian architecture. A wall was soon, after its taking the form of a town, built round it, to defend it from the insults of the Marattas or Ghenims, who had
twice

twice pillaged it ; but a wall that could only be meant of use against the sudden incursion of such free-booters, but by no means capable of standing any thing like a regular siege. The castle too, which is by the river-side, and which you pass in your way up to the city, appears a strange huddle of building, fortified with cannon mounted here and there without order and meaning, and without an attempt at any thing like military architecture.

IN this city then, before the East India Company became by the royal grant invested with the possession of Bombay, was the Presidency of their affairs on that coast. For which purpose they had a factory established there with several great privileges allowed them by the Mogul Government, and even after the seat of the Presidency was transferred to Bombay, they continued a factory here, at one of the best houses in the city, which yet not being spacious enough to contain their effects, they hired another house at some distance from it, and nearer the water-side, which was called the New Factory.

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IN the mean time this city flourished, and grew the center, and indeed the only staple of India, it being much more frequented for the sake of the vent goods of all sorts met with there, from whence they were distributed particularly to the inland provinces, than for either the natural productions, and manufactures of the country, though they also made a considerable part of its commerce. In short, there was hardly any article of merchandize that can be named, but what was to be found at all times here, almost as readily as in London itself. The Company carries on annually a large investment of piece-goods, especially of the coarse ones Byrampauts, Chelloes, and others for the Guinea market; but the English interest and influence seem of late years to have greatly declined, amidst the confusion and embroils of the country, a circumstance every where fatal to trade, and to that security and credit which are the life of it.

WHISTLE the Mogul Government was in vigor, there was such a shew of justice, as induced the merchants of all religions and denominations to take shelter under it. The
Gentoos

Gentoos especially resorted to it, and took up their abode there, not only on the account of trade, but for preferring a Moorish form of Government to the living under Gentoos, who had none at all. And it must be owned, that in that time great care was taken that no very flagrant acts of oppression should be committed, so that in what there sometimes were, at least appearances were kept, and were mostly owing to the merchants themselves, who on personal pique, or jealousy of trade, would find means to set the Government upon one another's backs, which was not averse to interfere in their quarrels, being sure to be the only gainer by them.

As an instance of this, it may not be improper to relate the fate of Mahmud Ally, the grandson of that great and truly royal merchant Abdulgafour, of whom captain Hamilton observes, “ that he drove a trade equal to
“ the East India Company (that is greatly ex-
“ aggerated) for he had known him fit out in
“ a year above twenty sail of ships, between
“ 300 and 800 tons, and none of them had
“ less of his own stock than 20,000 pounds,
“ and some of them had 25,000, and after
“ that

“ that foreign stock was sent away, it behoved
“ him to have as much more of an inland-
“ stock for the following year’s market. When
“ he died, he left his estate to two grandsons,
“ his own son, who was his only child, dying
“ before him. But the Court had a fling at
“ him, and got above a million sterling of
“ their estate.”

ONE of the brothers dying, the remains of that fortune centered in Mahmud Ally, who, even after that great stroke of Court-extortion, had still enough left to carry on a trade, not indeed equal to his grand-father, but however far superior to any other private person in Surat. He had also a fort of his own, called Otway, by the river-side, where he kept all his warehouses, magazines, and stores for building ships, compactly and within himself.

BUT it happened unfortunately for him, that Lolldass Vituldas, a Banyan, and actually at that time head-broker to the East India Company, with whose trade that of Mahmud Ally interfered, and perhaps inflamed by other personal piques and emulation, projected his ruin, and effected it.

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LOLLDASS knew very well, that the Moorish Governor of Surat would readily seize any occasion of destroying Mahmud Ally, not only for the sake of gratifying his avarice by the plunder of his estate, but for that of removing out of his way a man greatly obnoxious for his power to protect the merchants, being a preponderant weight in their scale, when joining them to withstand the oppressions of the Government: a circumstance which had given equally umbrage to the preceding Governor Sorab-Khawn, who, before he was removed, had also marked him out for his prey.

THE Mogul's Court too was then immersed in that supine indolence, which had invited the Persian invasion by Shaw Nadir, more commonly known in Europe by the name of Thomas-Cooley Kawn, so that the prefects of the provinces called Nabobs, and the governors of cities, lived in a sort of contumacy or independence on his commands. But what was worse yet, especially for Surat, that rule of good policy had been omitted with respect to its government, which had always before established, that the governor of the town should

should be separate from, and utterly unconnected with the governor of the castle, who was even ordered not to stir out of the castle whilst his government lasted, unless perhaps once a year to repair in ceremony, and with all proper precautions to pay his devotions at the head-mosch. To this check was also added another, which was an universal practice over the whole empire. The Mogul used to keep a residentiary, or at least send occasionally an authorized minister, under the title of Vocenevees, whose business was to inspect and report to him the conduct of his governors, and prefects of provinces, to whom this person was not only unsubordinate, but an awe and terror.

ALL these wise dispositions were however, at this time of universal negligence, laid aside; and the governor of the castle was not only nearly related to Teg-beg Khawn, the governor of the Town, but absolutely at his disposal, so that every thing was done in a concert between them, that opened the door to the oppression that followed.

LOLLDASS then taking advantage of these circumstances, and himself being rendered desperate by the declension of his own, easily found means to suggest to a governor, already greedy of embracing such an overture, the design of destroying a man obnoxious to them both.

ACCORDINGLY he took such an advantage of a storm originally raised against the whole body of merchants themselves, that the issue of it was Mahmud Ally's perishing in it: for having stood on his defence against the new governor Teg-beg Khawn, and being deserted by that party of the Gentoo merchants especially, over whom, to their afterwards great and vain regret, the influence that Lolldass had still retained, though himself was on the point of bankruptcy, had prevailed, he fell defenceless, in consequence of a confederacy of them at which himself had been the head, for their mutual protection and security, by such a turn as could hardly be imagined things could take, and which for the rarity of it, besides the importance of its consequences, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, to see a summary account.

MAHMUD

MAHMUD ALLY then, on having certain intimation, that Sorab Khawn, the Mogul governor of the town, and with whom himself had had formerly close connexions and dealings, was projecting a general extortion from himself, and all the merchants of Surat, took care to spread the alarm, and invited the merchants to join him, and make a common cause against the governor; engaging himself to bear principally the charges of the contest. This league was accordingly formed, and was so successful, that Sorab Khawn was not only expelled his government, but Teg-beg Khawn, by the interest of the governor of the castle, substituted in his room, against all the rules of good policy, against the constitution of the state, and especially against the inclination of Mahmud Ally. For Teg-beg Khawn had been in that post before, but had been revoked for his oppressions, and had never thereafter afforded the least room to hope that he had changed his tyrannical or avaritious temper, and was besides particularly detested by Mahmud Ally; who now found too late, that he had been hurried farther than what he had originally intended, which was the depression,

rather than the destruction of Sorab Khawn, who was besides considerably his debtor, and began to repent of the excesses into which this affair had led him, especially too, as those very merchants whose interest was a common one with him, had not only construed his promises of bearing the charges of the opposition in an unlimited sense, but had paid him so little regard, as without consulting him, or indeed the dictates of common sense, to set up a man for governor, against whom he had such just objections, of a publick besides a private nature.

IN this mood of repentance then, for a conduct which only self-defence could justify, or success save from the charge and consequences of open rebellion, against a governor appointed by royal authority, he began to relent, and incline, if not towards a restoration of Sorab Khawn, at least to wish to preserve him from falling into the hands of his enemies, who would probably have given him no quarter. The interest then he had in his not being plundered, utterly ruined, and ultimately murdered, who was not only the lawful governor, but also his debtor, joined to considerations of former friendship, engaged him to give this very governor

nor Sorab Khawn, of whose expulsion he had been the original promoter, refuge in his castle of Otway, with four others of his retinue, and by this means procured their escape.

THIS however was construed by the enemies of Sorab Khawn, and especially by Loll-dafs, who had had a great hand in setting Teg-beg Khawn up, as a perfidious desertion of the league formed by himself: and this advantage he improved so as to inflame both the new governor and all his partizans to such a pitch, that they laid siege to the castle of Otway, forced it to surrender, and, in razing it to the ground, implicitly destroyed the capital fortrefs of the liberty of Surat.

SOON after which, on a kind of forced visit to Teg-beg Khawn, Mahmud Ally was seized, made a prisoner, and barbarously murdered one night in the apartment where he was confined, by the governor's ruffians. Then the remains of his estate were plundered, and his two sons left entirely at the discretion, mercy, and charity of this assassin of their fathers.

NOR did Lolldafs long survive the success of his schemes ; for when he saw the tragical issue of it, which went probably beyond his intentions, in the same manner as Mahmud Ally had himself been hurried along by the force of conjectures, further than he had meant in his opposition to Sorab Khawn, when he saw, I say, the fatal catastrophe of this great and beloved merchant, and all eyes turned upon him, as imputing it to him, that, joined to the disorders of his own affairs, it was thought broke his heart, he dying soon after suddenly, without any other cause visibly assignable for it, and left his sons in bankrupt circumstances.

WITHOUT then taking on me to justify or condemn Mahmud Ally, having only related the facts on the best authorities I could procure, I shall only add that his death, which happened in the year 1732, was the epoch of the declension of the Surat trade, and the beginning of all the disorders, embroils, and confusion that followed, in which the English were not exempt from their share of suffering, and into a specification of which, it could be but little interesting, and very tedious to enter here.

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I HAVE before observed, that the Gentoos were extremely numerous here, but especially that tribe or cast of the Banyans, who are constitutionally or professedly merchants. I have often read, often heard them represented as a tricking, artful set of people, full of low cunning, that made it difficult to deal with them. But this can, I think, only be understood, if it be at all true, of the petty, under-dealers amongst them. For those of them who are properly merchants, in the extensive sense of that word, are in general the fairest, openest dealers in the world. And those of Surat were especially famous for the simplicity and frankness of their transactions. For example, on a ship's importing there, nothing more was to be done, than for the commander, or supracargoe, to bring his musters or samples on shore, together with his invoice, and the considerable merchants resorting to him, would immediately strike a bargain for the whole cargoe, if the assortment suited them, with no other trouble than settling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. In this manner many a cargoe, from five to ten, twenty, thirty thousand pounds and upwards, has been sold in half an hour's time with very few words,

words, and the amount paid down upon the nail, either in ready money; or by barter, according as the vender and purchaser agreed, with as much good faith, at least, as is ever observed amongst the European merchants of the most established character of probity. Then their readiness at running all the hazards of trade was even proverbial, insomuch that it has not been unjustly observed of them, that if their personal equalled their commercial courage, they would incontestably be the bravest people on the earth. But that is far from the case: one would rather think, by them, that the one excluded the other.

THOSE Banyans have indeed one constitutional advantage over the European merchants, but then it is such an one, as that these last cannot fairly complain of it, and that is their invincible phlegm and coolness in the course of their transactions. Whether you offer them shamefully less than their goods are worth, or fly into passions at their under-rating yours, there is no such thing as provoking them into the least show of passion or indecency. They calmly suffer you to evaporate your resentment without interrupting you, and waiting patiently
till

till your fit of drunkenness is off, for they look on it in no other light, they return coolly to the same point, as if nothing had stirred them from it; and if they depart from it, you may depend that it is not in the least out of any consideration for what you shall have said to them in your fury, but purely for their own ends, and in consequence of their own inward representations to themselves. In that they have, in this point, the same advantage over the Europeans, that a cool gamester has over a passionate one.

BUT besides the number of Gentoo inhabitants of Surat, its suburbs, and neighboring villages, employed purely in trade, money-changing, brokership, and manufactures, they are often employed in posts under the Moorish Government, as collectors, surveyors of the customs, and other offices of trust; especially where accomptantship is required, in which they generally excell the Moors, who are bred more in the military way. And it has been observed, that none are more rigorous exacters over the Gentoos, nor readier to abet, or even set on foot any vexation, or extortion from them than these Gentoos themselves. One
would

would imagine oppression was their element, and that they could not breathe out of it.

THE governor of Surat keeps his seat of administration at what is called the Durbar, where he is generally present himself, and gives his orders. It is here that all actions criminal and civil are brought before him, and summarily dispatched in the Eastern manner. One piece of state too he observes, that I have no where before seen mentioned, and that is, that he never on any thing material speaks to his attendants, but writes, in the Persian language, his orders upon little slips of paper, that lie by him ready for that purpose, and when written, are called Hookums, and must be obeyed without reply. These are afterwards brought him, like a return of a judicial process, and being strung, serve as a kind of record of his acts of the day.

THE Marattas are however now grown so predominant, and their influence is so far spread into that city itself, that unless the Mogul Government should resume its ascendancy, of which there is very little likelihood, the government of it already so precarious, must soon
become

become entirely dependent on them, when it is a question whether even their own clear interest in the preservation of the trade of it, will prevail over that constitutional indifference of theirs to it, and that passion for present pillage, which have been already set forth.

AT Surat too they excel in the art of ship-building. If their models were as fine as those of the English, of whom especially they prefer the imitation, there would be no exaggeration in averring, that they build incomparably the best ships in the world for duration, and that of any size, even to a thousand tons and upwards. But their naval, like their other architecture, has always something clumsy, unfinished, and un-artist-like in it, otherwise the reign of their ships is much longer than that of the European-built ones: it is not uncommon for one of them to last a century, and that not so much too owing to the commonly summer seas in those parts, as to the solidity of their workmanship, and the nature of the wood they employ.

As to the first, their bottom and sides are composed of planks let in to one another, in
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the nature as I apprehend of what is called rabbit-work; so that the seams are impene-trable; and the knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, especially where particular care is taken of their construction, and their expence not spared.

AND as to the wood, it is a sort, called teak, to the full as durable as oak, and has, besides this property, that it is not so apt in an engagement with cannon-shot to fly in splinters, which usually do more mischief to the men than the balls themselves. They have also a peculiar way of preserving their ships-bottoms, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil, they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay.

THEY do not either launch their ships as we do from slips, but by digging canals from the water to where the stocks, or what they call craddles are, from which they are, as it were, dropped into the stream that is brought up to them.

I AM

I AM also sensible, that Surat is not the only place by many in India, where ships are built, but none as yet are comparable to them. Pegu is also a noted place for ship-building, but I never learnt that they were as yet there come into that way of rabbit-work bottoms, which renders the Surat Ships so strong: tho' I have otherwise seen very fine vessels of the built of that country.

THE masting generally used in the country-ship, are Pohoon-masts, chiefly from the Malabar coast, but for the cordage, what is worth any thing must come from Europe: their coyr-ropes, made of the fibres of coconut-husks, being for either running or standing-rigging, more harsh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. I have however seen very serviceable and large coyr-cables, which, in opposition to the Europe ones, last much longest in salt-water, fresh being apt to rot them.

THEIR anchors are mostly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. As to sails, they are very well supplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a sail-cloth called

called dungaree, which, though not so strong or lasting as canvass, Holland's duck, or vitry, is, whilst in use, more pliant, and less apt to split than they are. And for pitch they have the gum of a tree, which is called damar, and is not at all inferior to the other.

THEIR navigators are very indifferent artists; formerly they used to get Europeans to command their ships, but lately they make a shift to do without them, having trained up to it some of the natives, who may just serve in those parts, where they seldom put to sea but in the fair season, and where consequently they rarely meet with storms to try their skill. Their common sailors are rather better in their class, though wanting the vigor, expertness, and patience of fatigue, in the Europeans. Yet, where some of our ships have been too far weakened in their crews, by sickness or other casualties, they have been obliged to borrow the assistance of these black sailors, or lascars, to bring them home. The public has here seen some of them miserable objects about the streets of London, begging charity, and exposed to all the distresses incident to persons so far remote from their native country, friendless,

less, and abandoned, for want of knowing the laws and customs here, which joined to the thoughtlessness one would think natural to those of their rank on that element, rendered them a prey to all the little low designing people, amongst whom their station of life and misfortune had cast them away.

As to the buildings of Surat, there are some very good houses in their style of building, which is partly Gentoo, and partly Moreisk. Those of the greatest note are so contrived, that the gateway is defensible against any sudden irruption of a few armed men, a circumstance of not a small import, in a city, where often the withstanding the first brunt of any persons sent by the government to oppress, or destroy the owner, is attended with future security, by the alarm raising a party to relieve, or oppose his proceedings. The private apartments lye backwards, for the greater security of the women, of whom the Moors especially are remarkably jealous. They are very fond of having one room, at least in particular, where a fountain is kept playing in the midst of it, by the noise of which they are lulled to sleep, and refreshed by the coolness it diffuses

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through

through the apartment, but which is attended with a damp, of which I would not advise an European to make the experiment. Besides too the common convenience of Eastern Sophas, which are so commodious for their manner of sitting cross-legged, they all like European looking-glasses, which are what they chiefly hang their rooms with. Another ornament too they have, which has not an ill effect upon the eye, and that is the beams of the chamber-cieling, curiously inlaid with ivory and mother of pearl, like the hand-scrutores that come from thence, in florishes and scroll-work, agreeable to the Moreſc taſte. They have generally a kind of ſaloon, which they call a Diwan, entirely open on one ſide to the garden, where they have fountains playing, which joined to the variegated flower-beds in front of it, of which they are very curious, add to the pleaſantneſs and airyneſs of the proſpect. In ſummer too when the heats are the intenſeſt, though never ſo intolerable as in many other places, nor unwholſome that I could ever learn, they have country-receſſes a little way out of town, where they reſide, or go in parties to enjoy themſelves in their gardens and freſcades, by the ſide of the waters with which they are
furnished.

furnished. The English Company has especially a very pleasant garden, kept for the use and recreation of the gentlemen of the factory, though lately indeed the incursions of the Marattas to the very gates of the city, and the constant alarms of the country round, have made those rural recesses too unsafe to consist with a satisfactory enjoyment of them.

THE streets of Surat are irregularly laid out, but have one propriety which renders them agreeable to the walkers, in the heat of the day, and that is, a competent width of them being left at bottom, the stories of the houses are carried up so projecting over one another, that the uppermost apartments on each side of the street are so close to one another, that one may with ease converse from them; a way of building, that whilst it overshades the street, does not exclude a free ventilation, which is rather attracted by it. The shops however, though in this great trading city, where every thing almost that can be asked for is to be found, have a very mean appearance, the dealers keeping their goods chiefly in warehouses, and selling by samples.

As to the living in Surat, I mean for provisions, I cannot imagine that there is in the world a better place, whilst the communication especially with the country is open. For to say nothing of the abundance of every article which an unbounded importation throws into the market there, the natural productions of the soil are excellent in their kind, and thereby atone for their perhaps being less cheap, as to the quantity, than at some other places of India, as at Bengal especially, where the cattle and poultry are bought at a very low rate, and yet turn out dear by the time they are properly fed for the table. Here then all manner of eatables are at a reasonable price, ready for immediate use, and as good as can any where be found. The wheat of Surat is famous all over India, for its singular whiteness, substance, and taste; and nothing can exceed their fallads and roots. There are also many kinds of wild fowl and game to be had at an easy rate.

As to wines and spirituous liquors, the Europeans depend chiefly on importation for them, few relishing the distillery of the country, which however produces various strong spirits, to
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which they give names that would seem odd, such as spirit of mutton, spirit of deer, spirit of goat, but for the reason they annex to it, which is their throwing into the still, according to the liquor they propose, a joint of mutton, a haunch of venison, a quarter of a goat, which give respectively their names to the distillation. This they imagine, how justly I do not pretend to know, super-adds to the liquor a certain mellowness and softness, that corrects the fieriness of the spirit.

AMONGST the articles too of luxury, which they have in common with other parts of the East, and especially the Mahometans, they have public hummums for bathing, cupping, rubbing and sweating, of which there needs no particular description, being so generally well known. But the practice of champing, which by the best intelligence I could gather is derived from the Chineze, may not be unworthy particularizing, as it is so little known to the modern Europeans, though on my mentioning it here in England, I have been assured the antients practised something very like it, by the description which a friend pointed out to me, and on which I leave to the reader to judge of the fitness of the quotation.

*Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.*

Mart. Lib. III. Epig. 82.

SENECA too, at the end of his sixty-sixth letter, inveighs against it as a point of luxury crept in amongst the Romans, which however proves that it was not unknown to them. His words are, *An potius optem ut malacissandos articulos exoletis meis porrigam? ut muliercula, aut aliquis in mulierculam ex viro versus digitulos meos ducat?* “Should I rather wish to hold
“out my joints to be softened and suppled by
“some superannuated chamber-minion, or
“suffer a woman, or a man effeminated into
“one, to stretch my fingers?” But whether he is right or wrong in his stoical conception of it, the Orientalists annex no idea of indecency or immodesty to it, and the manner of it is this: after the ceremony of sweating, bathing, rubbing, &c. is gone through, and which is not always previously used, since many are frequently champed at home, the Person that chooses it, lies at his length on a couch, bed, or sofa, where the operator handles his limbs as if he was kneading dough, or pats them gently with his hands an edge, and chafes or
rubs

rubbs them, concluding with cracking all the joints of the wrist and fingers, and if you will allow them that of the neck, being extreamly dextrous at this work. All this, they pretend, not only supples the joints, but procures a brisker circulation to the fluids apt to stagnate, or loiter through the veins, from the heat of the climate, which is perhaps the best excuse for this practice. The sensations too it excites in some are surprising, by its inducing a kind of pleasing languor or delirium, under which the are ready to faint away, and sometimes actually do so. Both Moors and Gentoos are however extreamly fond of this practice, and it is so common, that it would be hard to find a barber-native who is not skilled in it, it being one of the essentials of that profession: of which some particulars are also different from the European. For they shave constantly with the grain, and shave with great ease and dexterity, and have all one uniform set of materials, a round glass, with a handle stuck in their girdle like a dagger, which they put in your hands whilst you are shaving: a little copper tumbler not bigger than a common teacup, and some instruments for picking the ears, and paring the nails, hung on a wire like a

bunch of keys, or in a tweezer-case. In short, one must do the Orientalists in general the justice to allow, that none are more studious of the cleanliness and suppleness of the body than they are, which they perhaps not absurdly conceive conduces even to the pleasure of the mind, and if even matter of sensuality, is surely the most excusably such.

THE Gentoo-women too, and those of the best fashion make no scruple of going to the river-side, and bathing publicly and indifferently in the sight of the men. They go into the water indeed with their cloaths on, but the wetting them soon makes them cleave so close to their bodies, that they express very clearly the fashion and turn of the limbs, a circumstance which probably gave the Grecian artists the first notion of employing in statuary a wet drapery, as exhibiting nearest the justness of nudity, without its indecency. But when they come out of the water, and change their wet for dry cloaths, it is then that the eye of the most curious spectator is at fault, for they have so dextrous a knack at shifting, that though it is done so openly, not
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the least glimpse of any thing immodest can be perceived.

As to publick diversions, or entertainments, I could not learn there were any except the dancing-girls, and the Jugglers.

As to the dancing-girls they form a distinct branch, of the community of which more shall be said in its place.

THE jugglers, or flight-of-hand-men greatly excel whatever I have seen or heard of them in Europe. Their tricks and deceptions in short are so amazing, that I confess I have not the courage to relate what I have myself been eye-witness to, or been credibly assured, for fear of being taxed with running into that marvellous of which travellers are so fond. One story, however, I cannot help relating, though digressively on this occasion, as I think it does honor to humanity, and not the less, for being found in so low and despicable a class.

A LONG-

A LONG-BOAT with men going up from an English ship, to Calcutta, a fortified settlement we have on the banks of the Ganges in Bengall, stopped short of it a considerable way, waiting for the return of the tide, and went on shore to a moorish village, where just at that time were some of these jugglers shewing to a mob gathered round them, their various tricks, one of which, and no juggle, was the firing a pistol loaded with powder down one of their throats. On the arrival of the sailors, this was to be repeated, for they had before done it, but their powder having been consumed, one of the sailors innocently offered the man some he had about him. It was accepted, and the effect of it was, that being much stronger than what they used for this purpose, it killed the man upon the spot. As he was a Mahometan, and the whole village was so, the mob present instantly rose, and were preparing to massacre all the sailors there, in revenge for the Mussulman's blood, and would infallibly have done so, but for the humane interposition of the jugglers themselves, who declared, that however sorry they might be for the death of their brother, it was by no means imputable to the English, who were evidently

evidently clear of any malicious design in it. This alone appeased the populace, and the sailors were suffered to return quietly to their boat.

THERE is one particular branch too of the art of these jugglers, I cannot pass by, too well attested to doubt of it, and of which those who practise it never refuse giving the clearest proof; which is their incantation of snakes, I say incantation, though no doubt it is to be naturally accounted for, however incapable I am of it. When then a snake lurking in an house has bit any one, one of these men being sent for, will, with an instrument something resembling a flageolet, play certain tunes upon it, the sound of which operates so powerfully on the snake, that he comes out of his hole, forced as it were, and with visibly reluctance presents itself to those ready to kill him. I am fully aware of the ridicule this will meet with from many, but prefer even the certainty of incurring it, to the suppression of what I tried myself to disbelieve till convinced of it. In the mean time this incredulity, often indeed well founded, but when too general has this ill effect, that it prevents examinations, which might issue in very valuable discoveries.

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AT Surat too all religions are tolerated, than which nothing can be more political, especially in a place of such universal trade. The Moors, who are the masters, seem to relax of that rigor and fondness for making of proselytes, they have in most other parts where their religion prevails. They are then so little curious of encouraging apostates, that there are very rare instances of any, and those, generally speaking, live and die neglected and miserable. If they take an European into their service, as they sometimes do, in quality of gunners, for they think all Europeans are born engineers, they never trouble their heads with what religion they are of, or molest them about it.

THE inhabitants in and about Surat are commonly very industrious, and have on foot a number of manufactures, which it would be too tedious to specify, but the most considerable is that of their atlasses, or sattins flowered with gold or silver, which have a rich substantial look, but, methinks, are otherwise in a very indifferent taste. The flowers ill fancied, and without air, and the red color
which

which is mostly used, for the ground, dull and unsightly.

SOME shawls are manufactured there, but few and not of the finest sort, those coming from the province of Cachemire on the borders of Tartary, being made of a peculiar kind of filky hair, that produces from the loom a cloth beautifully bordered at both ends, with a narrow flowered selvage, about two yards and a half long, and a yard and a half wide, which without farther trouble of making up, serves the natives for a wrapper or mantle, and, according to the price, which is from ten pounds and upwards to fifteen shillings, joins to exquisite fineness, a substance that renders them extreamly warm, and so pliant, that the fine ones are easily drawn through a common ring for the fingers.

THE manufacturers too have a commodious way, when their work has not been bespoke, as it commonly is by the wholesale merchants: to make a quick sale of it, they repair to the Bazar, or market-place, where they stand and hold up the piece ready finished, to any chapman that shall offer their price, much in the same manner

manner as our farmers stand in rows at a country-market, with samples of grain in their hands, and they rarely return without disposing of them, as there are a number of petty dealers attend the market for the purchasing of them, thus at the first hand, and vend them afterwards in quantities to the greater merchants. This custom will be hardly thought a bad one, as it is a continual incentive to industry, by shewing it an easy and assured vent of its produce, and besides frees the poor manufacturers from the tyranny of the wholesale dealers.

SURAT too being the only sea-port of very considerable note, and unpossessed by the Europeans, in the whole immense dominions of the Mogul, it is easily imaginable that the inland trade, especially to Dilly and Agra, the capital residences of that Court, which are about a month's journey from Surat, must employ a number of caravans, or caffilahs, for the distribution of the imports. But unfortunately the roads never perfectly safe, on account of the independent Rajahs, are lately grown much less so, from the troubles and convulsions of the whole country.

FORMERLY

FORMERLY the security of them was provided for by a very singular expedient. The whole caravan at setting out was put under the protection of one single person, a boy, but ofteneft a woman, hired and felected from a caft facred for that purpofe amongst the Gentoos, from whose free-booter's tribes all the danger of the journey arifes. When then any of thefe met with the caravans, on a defign to pillage them, it was the duty of this fingle guard to interpoze, and proteft againft the violence, with a folemn threat to kill him or herfelf in cafe they perfifted. And this threat was never but attended with the execution, if the robbers proceeded further ; and the fure confequence was, their incurring thereby all the guilt of facrilege, and the penalty both of a civil and religious excommunication never to be taken off, being thereby for ever degraded, detefted, and renounced by their own tribes. I do not however believe that this custom ftill fubfifts, whether the race of thofe faithful suicides is extinguifhed, or, what is moft probable, that the Gentoos have made their religion yield to their ruling paffion for plunder, and brought this custom into difufe, from their ceafing by common confent to refpect it.

BETWIXT

BETWIXT Surat and Bombay there is a constant intercourse preserved, not only by sea, the distance being but small, but by Pattamars, or foot-messengers, over land, which are used in the same way throughout India, and hired at a moderate rate, who carry letters to and fro. They are very expeditious in their journeys, and commonly use opium, which they think fortifies them, and by this means will keep on running, and dozing as it were at the same time with their eyes open, and without feeling the fatigues of the way.

AND here having mentioned opium, I shall take the liberty of a small digression thereon, that I may not return to it. It is not then only the Pattamars, who take opium in the intention of strengthening their powers for service, but most of the hard laboring people of Surat, and especially the Hamalls or Porters, who make a livelihood of carrying goods to and from the warehouses, and will endure such loads, as few of the stoutest Europeans can undertake. I have been credibly assured, that some of these fellows will take at one doze three copper gorze weight of this drug, without danger; which is considerably above
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an ounce weight, and pretend that it greatly enables them to work and carry burthens.

MANY of the rich and great too contract a habit of it, but with different views, considering it not only as a high point of sensuality, from the pleasing deliriums they experience from it, but as a specific for procuring a priapism that serves to spin out the venereal congress, as long as they please, by taking a competent dose of it, usually in a vehicle of milk, boiled away from a large to a small quantity, and when they have a mind to check or put an end to its operation, they do it by swallowing a spoonful or two of lime-juice, or of any equivalent acid. By this means, however, it commonly happens that the users of it, by forcing nature, wear out its springs, and bring on themselves prematurely all the inconveniences of old age ; but this is a consideration that weighs but little with the generality of the Orientalists, always more actuated by any present favorite objects, than by a providential regard for remote ones.

If you would believe them too, there is a kind of paradoxical mixture of effects in the

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operation,

operation of this drug, causing at once a seeming heaviness of the head, and visible sleepiness of the eye, and yet withal a great watchfulness; in confirmation of which, the following story passes current at Surat.

THAT one of its town-governors, on receiving a visit from a Gentoo-rajah, with whom he was in friendly correspondence, at a garden just out of the city-walls, they met with each their guards and attendants, and without any of that treachery, which is not uncommon amongst them, intended on either side. As they were walking together in the garden, the governor took notice of the rajah's guards, who were squatted down in their manner, under an open guard-room, with their heads leaning or rather nodding upon their naked swords, and to all appearance dozing, or fast asleep. The governor then smilingly remarked to the rajah, that he had a very just opinion of his good faith, since he would venture himself to this interview with guards in such a condition, from the opium he knew it was their custom to take. "That, says the
"rajah, is your mistake, and to prove it to
"you, if you have any body near you, of
"whom

“ whom you do not care what becomes, bid
“ him, as softly as he pleases, pluck a flower
“ out of any of their turbants.” The gover-
nor, who either had such a person at hand, or
did not apprehend the consequence, ordered
one he pitched upon, to do what the rajah
had mentioned ; in proceeding to which, with
all the caution recommended, and addressing
himself to him who seemed the most over-
come with sleep, the rajah’s guard felt it, and
without more ceremony, at one stroke cut off
his arm, and the rest were instantly alert,
and on foot : and thus the governor was sa-
tisfied of their vigilance, at the expence in-
deed of a servant, whose being guilty enough
to deserve the being exposed to such a trial,
or innocent, was probably no great matter of
consequence under that perfectly arbitrary go-
vernment.

OPIUM is also considered by these people
as such a specific inspirer of courage, or rather
heedlessness of danger, that the commanders
make no scruple of allowing it their soldiers,
especially when employed on any very perilous
or desperate enterprize.

THE best in the world is said to come from Patna, on the river Ganges, where at least the greatest traffic of it is made, and from thence exported all over India, though in some parts of it, especially on the Malay-coast, it is prohibited under pain of death, from the madness, and the murderous effects of that madness, it has on the inhabitants; and yet the gain attending this article, makes it be smuggled into those countries, in spite of all the laws and precautions against it.

THE soil about the Ganges is then accounted the properest for producing the strongest sort of it, of which one instance occurs to me, too remarkable to suppress the mention of it. A Nabob or Vice-roy of those parts having invited an English factory to an entertainment, a young gentleman, a writer in the company's service, sauntering about the garden, plucked a poppy, and sucked the head of it, probably not apprehending any greater force in it, than those plants have in England. The consequence was his falling into a profound sleep, of which the nabob being apprized, and in much concern, eagerly enquired of the particular
bed

bed out of which the poppy was gathered by him, and on being told it, with great expression of sorrow, apologized for his having supposed that the nature of the poppies was in general too well known to have needed any warning, especially as the taste was so far from tempting, but that that peculiar sort, on which the English gentleman was so unfortunate to pitch, admitted of no human remedy or counter-poison, so that nothing could save him, as effectually it turned out, for that sleep was his last.

BANG is also greatly used at Surat, as well as all over the East, an intoxicating herb, of which it may be needless to say more after so many writers, who have fully described it, and it is hard to say what pleasure can be found in the use of it, being very disagreeable to the taste, and violent in its operation, which produces a temporary madness, that in some, when designedly taken for that purpose, ends in running what they call a-muck, furiously killing every one they meet, without distinction, till themselves are knocked on the head, like mad dogs. But by all accounts this practice is much rarer in India than it formerly was.

BUT to resume my more immediate subject, I am to observe, that the intercourse between Bombay and Surat is not without great reason kept up, from the constant attention which is to be had to the Company's investment, in the country-manufactures that is carried on there, and to the sale of the staple-goods sent out from England to that side of India, of which Surat is the capital mart, though lately greatly declined through the embroils of the country.

THE manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat, are chiefly carried on by the industry of the Parsees, or the race of Persian refugees, who some centuries ago, fled from the face of the Mahometans persecution, then invaders and conquerors of the Persian dominions. They were brought to these parts where they and their race have ever since continued (except a few who have lately settled at Bombay) in three vessels, in which they embarked with the utmost precipitation and confusion, and committed themselves to the wind and weather, to be carried into whatever country would receive them. By tradition,
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and according to all probability, as being the most obnoxious to the conquerors, there were amongst them some of the principal men of the country. Nowrojee-Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration amongst those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it Izdigerdes, a descendant from Cosroes the son of Hormisdas, was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was; when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassionated their distress, and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them.

I KNOW there are several fabulous traditions of these refugees having landed where they first saw a fire, which they looked on as a propitious land-mark to them, and that the Gen-

toos made a covenant with them that they should conform to their customs, especially as to their abstaining from all animal food. But I never could learn that these points of their history were attested by any authentic testimonials, or believed by the principal persons amongst them. The sole article of any consequence imposed on them was, that they should not kill any cows, or beasts of that species, which the Parsees their descendants to this day avoid, as looking upon themselves to be bound and concluded by that agreement of their ancestors, and even at Bombay where they have the full liberty of acting as they please in that respect, I could never learn that they departed from this restriction. They also, in many other respects, adopted the manners and customs of the Gentoos, rather from imitation than any necessity; though otherwise they have kept their race unmixt. The wretched remnant of the Parsees who staid behind in Persia, and weathered out the storm, acknowledge these Parsees for their brethren, but there does not appear to have been any farther correspondence, or connection established between them. The truth is, that the Guzarat-Parsees seem to have entirely forgot their original country,
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and from a long habitation continued thro' so many generations, to consider India as their proper country ; even though from the laws of it admitting no mixture by proselytism, or intermarriage, they must for ever remain a stranger race. They are generally fairer than the native Indians especially the coasters, tho' mostly and at best of a fallow yellowish hue, but the women, those of them who are kept up and not employed in hard work, are tolerably clear skinned. They are most of them an industrious people, and the necessity probably that obliged their ancestors on their first arrival to betake themselves to labor for a livelihood in a strange country, has so far propagated its influence on the spirit and manners of their descendants, that they are the chief supporters of the Surat manufactures, and of agriculture. Numbers of them are also employed in ship-building, and in the distillery-trade, which last commonly flourishes or sickens according to the Moorish governors of Surat, for the time being, are superstitious observers or not, of the Mahometan law, which however, rather advises against the drinking of spiritous liquors, than it formally condemns it, several passages of the alcoran
seeming

seeming rather levelled against the abuse than the use of them, though exprest in such a manner, as if the law-giver had known human nature well enough to think it easier to totally abstain from a pleasure, than to be moderate in it.

FOR the rest, none, or but inconsiderably few of the Parsees, either meddle at all with the government, or with the military, but submit quietly to the power that is uppermost, whether Gentoo or Moorish, and consequently for their usefulness and inoffensiveness, generally meet with protection from both.

AT present the Moorish government, at least nominally, prevails at Surat, though greatly declined and over-awed by their neighbors the Marattas, with whom it is obliged to temporize and keep such measures as nearly resemble a submission. Nor is it likely but things may soon end in that, unless the Moors, who are too much out-numbered by the Gentoos to have any hopes of succeeding against them, should be enabled by foreign assistance to reassume their former ascendant, and once more drive the Gentoos back into their mountains
and

and fastnesses. For as matters now stand, the Moorish sovereign of Indostan, so known by the title of Mogul, or rather as it should be Mongul, is no more than a phantom on the throne, ever since the invasion and retreat of Shah Nadir; reigning precariously, and at the pleasure of the principal Gentoo-rajahs, who raise, depose, and even murder him, just as their interest or humor prompts them. And doubtless even the name of the Mogul-sovereignty would soon have ceased, or cease to exist, if they could agree amongst themselves whom to substitute; and this very indetermination may not improbably be the occasion of their losing the ground they have won, especially if some of the Mahometan neighboring powers should be tempted either to restore the authority of the Moguls, or to plant themselves in his place; and either of these events is especially to be apprehended from the north-east Tartars, borderers upon the Indostan, who are now greatly recruited in numbers since the exhaustion of those countries by the draughts out of them, of those swarms with which those two great conquerors Ginghis Khawn and Tamerlane, subdued almost all Asia, carrying havock and desolation wherever
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their arms penetrated, and terror to remoter parts, and even to Europe itself. But as a summary account of these mighty leaders may give a clearer notion of some points necessary to account for the present constitution and position of Indostan, I hope it will not be thought out of place, or impertinent to my subject.

GINGHIS KHAWN then, about the year 1200, after collecting under his standard, an innumerable army of these north-east Tartars, which he had the influence to unite under him, though out of various tribes and nations before then utterly discordant, and living much like the savages of America, not only brought into subjection the great kingdom of China, and the nations bordering upon it, on the outside of the famous wall of that country, but extended his conquests to a great part of Asia, then and now possessed by the Mahometans, to whom he professed himself a greater enemy than to the Christians, whom he rather favored. As to himself, he was undoubtedly of that religion, which is called the religion of the great and learned of China, who hold no other object of worship but
purely

purely the *Thien*, or Sovereign Being. This made him indifferent to all religions, and of course a tolerant, for as to the Mahometans he prosecuted them more on a political account, than for any particular aversion he had to their tenets. His sons however, after his decease, soon found that a conformity to the Mahometan system, would greatly advance their temporal scheme of settling in the government of those rich countries, so preferable to the mountains and wilds of Tartary. Accordingly most of them adopted the mussulman faith, and made it their state-religion, to satisfy their new subjects; though for the rest they acted as being far from bigots to it; as for instance, when Holagu Khawn, a grandson of Gingham Khawn, pursuing his conquests over Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, at length took Bagdad by storm, and without respect to the sacredness of character amongst the Mahometans, of the line of the Caliphs, he exterminated the last of it in the person of Motazem, whom he put to death in the most ignominious manner, by having him dragged about the streets of Bagdad till he expired. Even tho' Motazem appeared before him in the quality of a suppliant, and in the hopes
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of asswaging his wrath, had on his shoulders the very cloak Mahomet had once worn, and given, in a transport of applause, to Caab a poet, on his reading some Arabian verses to him. He had besides in his hands the staff of that prophet; but that holy trumpery availed him nothing, for the Tartar-general ordered the cloak and staff to be taken from him, and to be burnt in a pan, the ashes to be thrown into the Tygris, not out of any contempt, as he pretended, but to hinder those precious relicks from falling thereafter into prophane hands. This Motazem was at once the last of the Abbassid line, and of the caliphs of the Mahometans, whose authority had been long confined to purely spirituals, after having been for more than three centuries stripped of their temporal power, from one of them, in the year 935, having unadvisedly wholly trusted it to the chief of the military, a Turk called Rayk, who thenceforwards knew how to keep it, and transferred it to his successors in his office, long famous in Asia, under the title of Emir-al-omrah, commander of the commanders, and afterwards by that of sultan, who governed both the state and the caliphs despotically, till they and the caliphate

liphate itself fell under the superior strength of the Tartar invaders.

BUT this Tartar-family soon after experienced the fate that usually attends the partition of an empire. For the descendants of Genghis Khawn quarrelling amongst themselves, with all that inveteracy which usually attends discord amongst relations, the whole race in a little time, either fell by one another's swords, or by the other Mahometan powers resuming courage and strength by their divisions, so that at present not even a remnant of that family exists in any state of power, except one branch of it, in the Crim or Precopian Tartary, which traces up a very dubious original to Genghis Khawn, and is now a precarious tributary dependent on the Ottoman Porte, under the title of Khawn of Tartary. In short, in less than two centuries there was a clear stage, as to any material opposition from the princes of that race, even in Tartary itself for Tamerlane, to assume the supreme authority, who treading exactly in his steps over-ran the greatest part of Asia, with a great army of Tartars, and in 1402, gave that celebrated defeat to Bajazet whom he took prisoner. But as if it had been fatal

fatal for those of that country to make conquests with more ease than they could preserve them, in scarce more than a century, all his descendants, from the very same error of partition, and its consequences, were extinguished except that branch of it, which had penetrated into Indostan, and conquered it from the Patans. These were also Mahometans, of the race of those Sarracens, who, after they had spread their conquests over Asia and Africa, had not neglected the rich provinces of India. For a party of Arabs, and that not a very numerous one, had some centuries before Tamerlane and his sons invasion, made a descent at Massulipatam on the coast of Coromandel, where, meeting with no resistance from an effeminate unwarlike people, they soon penetrated into the heart of Indostan, and planted and maintained their seat of empire where it now is, about Agra and Dehli, till they were driven out by the superior force of the Tartars. Whilst the Gentoo Rajahs, through their wonted disunion and indolence, saw the change with indifference, or at least without materially taking part on either side.

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THE Pattans however being thus dispossess'd, those of them who escaped the sword, or would not submit to the conqueror, fled to the mountains that lye towards the borders of Persia, where, only sollicitous to preserve their lives and independence, they formed a separate state, never thoroughly subdued by the Moguls, and yet never in a condition to dispute the field with them, but always troublesome, especially on their associating with other tribes of the Gentoo mountaineers, as the Rashpoots, Coolies, and Warrells, and occasionally exercising their depredations on the adjacent countries, without its being possible for the Moguls to come at them to extirpate them, especially since themselves soon became enervated by the deliciousness of those fruitful plains.

NAY the Pattans themselves seem so convinced, that the climate and soil of those provinces only serve to rob them of that hardiness they contract in the hills to which they are confined, that they have hitherto given no indications of a desire to exchange them for more pleasing abodes, or a more accessible situation,

tuation. This it was that enabled them to brave even the victorious army of Nadir-shaw, whom they very quietly suffered to penetrate into Indostan, and waited his return when loaded with the spoils of that country. Then it was that by their harassment of his troops in the streights and defiles of the mountains, they showed him they were so much masters of the passes, as to force him to come to a composition with him for way-leave, that had all the air of a ransom.

WHAT then between these unsubdued Pat-tans and the independant Gentoo-rajahs, and both inaccessiblely fortified in their mountains, it is evident that the Mogul government had constantly a hard task to keep up a tolerably secure footing. Nor was it without at least as much art as strength, that it preserved its power, and especially with the Gentoos, whom as the most numerous, and being besides the aborigines of the country, it had most reason to apprehend. Either then from a despair of totally reducing them, or from a growing indolence, the Mogul successors to Tamerlane, applied themselves to the winning over at least to some show of homage and submission, the powerfulest

powerfullest of the Gentoo-rajahs. And this they chiefly effectuated by their great toleration and easiness in point of religion.

It has before been observed, that the governing theology in proper Tartary, was the same as it is in China, and perhaps derived from China, so that the Mahometan religion professed by the Moguls, in imitation of Tamerlane the founder of their dynasty, was rather matter of political conformity, than of persuasion, so that it did not cost them much to relax on this article. Even Aurengzeb himself, who was so strict an observer of his law, is no exception to this, since it is well known that he made his pretences to superior zeal and austerity, serve to the ends of acquiring and establishing his usurpation over his father, and over his brothers, whom he over-reached by purely these arts of dissimulation, by which he recommended himself to the Mahometan zealots in the army. All the Moguls then since Tamerlane, took the party of toleration, the easier for that deism, which made all religions at bottom indifferent to them, whilst they amused those of all religions with a favorable disposition towards them. Even some Roman-

catholic priests, who had occasionally been careſſed, and ſome even invited to that court, were the bubbles of this eaſineſs in the Moguls, to liſten to them, and even to permit their ſons, and princes of their blood to give them hopes of being profelytes to them.

THEY would then, no doubt, for any ſcruples of their own to the contrary, have with reſpect to the Gentoos, acted the ſame part, as the Tartar princes had done with reſpect to the Mahometans. They would have politically embraced the Gentoo religion: but as one of its fundamentals is, the rejection of all profelytes to it, they could not, even had their perſuaſion been real, have paid them that compliment: all they could do, and that they did, was to appear entirely averſe to any perſecution on a religious account, and for the reſt they continued Mahometans at large, in reſpect to the neighboring Mahometan powers, whom a throwing off entirely the appearances of that religion would have ſcandalized, and indispoſed againſt them, to no purpoſe.

HERE I am ſenſible that the procedure of the Mogul-moors in deſtroying the temples
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and idols of the Gentoos, in many parts of the country, seems to contradict the idea I have attempted to give, on the best information I could get, of the Moguls spirit of toleration. For the fact is certainly true. But then these outrages were never that I could learn committed, but in the heat of war, and in consequence of the provocations that attend it, besides that, some of their generals were hurried on by their private zeal, so as to lose sight of the general system of the court-policy, and what is more convincing yet is, that the Gento-rajahs themselves always looked on those severities as particular cases of exception, or at least never appeared to formally resent them.

BUT whilst the Moguls thus aimed at making their government the more easy, and supportable to that infinite number of Gentoos, by indulging them in the free exercise of their religion, they did not also neglect the policy of keeping up the divisions and jealousies among the most powerful rajahs from whom they had most to apprehend : and in this they succeeded to their wish, and might probably long have continued the tranquillity of their

P 3 government,

government, but for the relaxation and indolence into which the latter Moguls fell. Instead then of keeping a strict hand over the emirs, or great officers of the court, known by the title of omrahs, which is only the plural of emir, they suffered them to encroach on the royal authority, and themselves became subjected to that emir, who had obtained most influence and interest with the military. And here again the Mogul was only defended from utter deposition by the jealousies, and not the loyalty, of the great emirs amongst themselves, whose object of competition was, which of them should get possession of the Mogul's person, and reign under the shelter of a title, beyond which, and his seraglio or haram they left him scarce any sign of power. Some, even of the emirs, who were invested with the government of the greater provinces, not only fortified themselves in them, and asserted a certain independence barely salved by a nominal homage, but entered into treaties with the Gentoo-rajahs for their mutual support. Thus the famous Nizzam-al-moluch, formerly known by the name of Chicklis-Khawn, by leaving his son in his government, and besides secured by his confederacy with the
Marattas,

Marattas, durst venture his person to court, where his practises were perfectly known, and for the which being known, he was but the safer, and, though he had many potent enemies there, his competitors for power, he had influence and management enough to procure one of the highest posts of the state, and to impose on his sovereign the hardest of all necessities, that of employing and trusting a traitor knowing him to be one. But even not satisfied with his domestic treasons, and finding the credit of his enemies at court encreasing against him, he invited the Persian Shah-Nadir, better perhaps known in Europe under the name of Thamas-Cooley Khawn, to invade the Mogolistan, pointing it out to him as an easy prey, considering the luxurious effeminate disposition of a court, weakened moreover by intestine dissensions. Shah-Nadir, whose ruling passion was avarice and rapaciousness, greedily listening to a proposal that so much flattered it, entered into Nizzam-al-moluch's schemes, and accordingly, after taking Candahar, that capital fortress which is the grand inlet into that empire, invaded India, where his expedition met with that success, which has been too fully described by a Persian writer

ter, translated by Mr. Frazer, to need a repetition here.

THIS event, however, so enfeebled the Mogul government, that the Gentoo-rajahs beginning to feel more their own strength, seem now greatly to prevail, and will probably keep their ascendant, unless, as has before been observed, some of the hardy nations bordering on Indostan, should support the Moorish interest, and revindicate those rich provinces, of which the Mogul government has either lost possession, or where its interest is visibly declined. And in this they have the better chance to succeed, as the bulk of the Gentoos themselves prefer a Moorish to a Gentoo-government, for reasons on which I have already sufficiently touched.

As to the Moguls themselves, or rather the principal Moorish courtiers, for the Indians vulgarly involve them all under that appellation, though numbers of them are originally from Persia, or other parts of Tartary, they, generally speaking, affect great state and splendor, according to their various appointments, and posts; and none study more the luxuries of

of life, though in a manner and taste somewhat different from the Europeans.

THEY take care to have their seraglios, or harems furnished with the handsomest women, that can be procured for love or money. Those of Cashmire are the most preferred in the Mogolistan, as the Georgians and Circassians are over Persia and Turkey: and with reason, being much fairer than in any other province of the Mogolistan, and having besides the advantage of a delicacy in shape and make, which is chiefly in request amongst them. This taste they even push to such an extravagance, as to scruple no price hardly for a female slave, which to her other beauties should have that added of a plumpness covering the smallest bones that can be imagined, for in the bone they think the weight chiefly consists, and therefore those who weigh the least, are by them reckoned the rarest and delicatest pieces. Those who, amongst us, pass for comely majestic-dames, would not meet with admirers amongst those people. As to all their women, however, when shut up in their harems, they are extremely jealous of them, and follow the usual Asiatic method of com-

committing them to the guard of eunuchs, mostly made such by a total abscission. The blackest Abyffinian ones too are preferred, not only on account of their color not appearing so tempting, but for their fidelity and discretion, in which they excel the slaves of all other nations. In the mean time nothing can be well imagined more cruel, or more contrary to the benevolent institutes of nature, than thus sacrificing a number of poor creatures to the caprice and jealousy of one man, who perhaps amidst three or four hundred, nay as far as a thousand and upwards, confines his embraces to a very few of them, whilst the others, in the flower of their age, and with all the violence of the melting passion, inspired and nursed by the heat of the climate, pine away with unsatisfied desires. And sometimes the rage of them is so great, as to make them seek for relief, even to the greatest hazard of their lives. I have been credibly assured, for example, that when the Mogul, or some powerful Nabob, has been making either a progress, or a military expedition, at either of which they train after them a numerous Haram; the women, being enclosed in tents, in a separate quarter, some of them, incited by an irresistible natural

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ral appetite for the male, have made no scruple, whilst lying in their tents, to contrive thrusting out the lower parts of their bodies, through the opening at the bottom of the sides, naked and exposed, purely in the hopes of receiving the benefit of any passing grooms or elephant-keepers, who might be tempted by such an exposure: and that so much at the peril of the womens lives, that if, instead of them, they were seen in such a posture by any of the vigilant eunuchs going their rounds, they would, without any farther ceremony or enquiry, remorselessly rip their bellies open, and leave them to that cruel death.

THIS engrossing then of such numbers of women, besides being attended with such tragical events, and the injustice of rendering miserable and useless so many of that amiable sex, besides the injury done to the population of the country, has another worse consequence, and that almost all over the East where that custom so much prevails, in inclining both the great and the meaner sort to the nefarious sin, the same effect resulting from two very different causes. For as this custom necessarily
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things society of the women, that would otherwise appear on the ranks for wives, the poorer sort, from the scarcity of that sex, in the necessity of giving their passions a vent, betake themselves to their own ; whilst on the other hand, the abundance of it at command of the rich, breeds a satiety that operates the same disposition. So that every consideration, human and divine, seems to establish the preference of the European law permitting but one wife, to the polygamy and concubinage of the Orientalists.

IN short, the Moguls have chiefly adopted not only the language of the Persians, which is entirely in use at court, but their manners, and refinements of luxury.

THEIR buildings are all in the Persian stile, and they are, like them, fond of fine gardens, and especially of water, both dormant and in action from natural or artificial cascades, the climate supplying them with plenty of evergreens. In the midst of the gardens, they have commonly neat, airy pavilions, contrived with special regard to coolness, where the owners indulge themselves in parties of pleasure with their women, in the heat of the day, and in
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the cool of the evening on the sides of their ponds, finely ornamented with steps down to the water-side, and in the middle, on every side of the oblong square, which is generally the figure of them, with places for recumbence, spread with Persian or Turkey carpets. Their gardens are commonly pretty much like the Chinese, in a wilderness stile, with this particularity, that the door is generally at a corner of the wall, instead of being in the middle, as is the European manner. By which means the avenue to the pavilion does not front it, so as to present to its view a length of a gravel, or tediously uniform green walk; instead of which they prefer, for the pleasure of the eye, beds of flowers, as variegated as possible, and in all the confusion of wild nature, which are immediately subjacent to every side of the pavilion, to the corners of which only the walks obliquely lead, so as not to intersect those flower spots. But as to statues, knots, quaint devices, or symmetrized compartments, they have happily no idea of, or taste for them.

ONE of their great diversions at these recesses, and indeed at all their public entertainments, which diversion too they have in common

mon with the Gentoos, are the dancing-girls, which they send for to a particular place, either of their district or town, and of whom there are never wanting a competent number for the use of the public, to which they are so devoted, that one may safely say, that those of that profession have made vows of unchastity which they religiously keep. For according to their institutes, they are bound to refuse no one for their price, which is not indeed stated, but is governed by their rate of beauty and accomplishments. There are even particular sets of them appropriated to the service of the Gentoo-temples, and the use of the Bramin-priests that belong to them. But wherever they are, whither settled or ambulatory, which last is often the case, they live in a band or community, under the direction of some super-annuated female of the same profession, under whom they receive a training, as regular as in an academy, or like horses in a manage, and learn all the paces, and arts of pleasing, in which they are but too successful. For nothing is commoner than for the princes, and chief men of those countries, to take a particular liking to one of those creatures, and to lavish immense sums upon her, notwithstanding

notwithstanding their Haram is stocked with far superior beauties of person, who are besides possessors of that of modesty, natural to women constantly sequestered from the sight of men, and which is not at least lessened in appearance to their lords, by that constitutional violence of desire to which they are subject, and which makes some of them transgress the bounds of decency, on particular occasions. These dancing-girls too are besides generally recruited out of the people of all casts and denominations, though not to be sure without special regard to beauty or agreeableness; and yet even the knowledge of their being so common, cannot with many out-balance their natural and acquired charms, which will not appear incredible to those, who know how much the Opera-girls in France were, and have not yet ceased to be, in fashion. Their dances however would hardly at first relish with Europeans, especially as they are accompanied with a music far from delightful, consisting of little drums they call Gum-gums, of cymbals, and a sort of fife, which make a hideous din, and are played on by men, whose effeminacy, grimaces, and uncouth shrivelled features, all together, shock the eye, and torture the ear, which,

which, however, by use becomes reconciled to the noise, and may observe some not unpleasing airs, with which the dancers keep time; and the words of which often express the matter of a pantomime dance, such as a lover courting his mistress, a procureur bringing a letter, and endeavoring to seduce a woman from one gallant in favor of another, a girl timorous and afraid of being caught in an intrigue. All these love-scenes, the girls execute in character-dances, and with no despicable expression, especially if they are good proficient in their art, for then their gestures, air, and steps are marking and well adapted. In some of their dances too, even in public, modesty is not extremely respected, in the motions of their limbs, the quivering their hips, and other lascivious attitudes into which they throw themselves, without however exposing any nudity, being richly dressed and bedecked with jewels in their manner. But, in private parties, to which they are called, as in gardens, they give themselves a greater loose, and have dances in reserve, in which, though still without any grossness in point of discovering their bodies, they are mistresses of such motions, and lewdness of looks and postures, as are perhaps
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more provoking. In short, there is no allure-ment they omit, and rarely fail of their end; some of them amassing great wealth by this means. In the neighbourhood of Goa, for example, on a part of the continent bordering on the district of that island, the dancing-girls founded a village, after being driven from Goa, by the zeal of the Archbishop, where they reside in a kind of body-corporate, and where the noblemen and chief inhabitants make parties of pleasure, for it is not every one's purse can afford the expence of them. Here many of these women acquire considerable fortunes by this scandalous traffic, and throw it into a common stock, for the carrying on literally trade, being concerned in shipping and the most profitable voyages, for which they have regular brokers and factors. Or at least it was so, till Goa declined so greatly as within these few years it has done, from its former splendor.

Notwithstanding however numberless stories of their rapaciousness, and perfidies to their gallants, there is one told of a dancing-girl, that proves there may be, even in that class, an exception to their general want of sentiments.

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A Portuguese Vice-admiral, whose name, if my memory does not fail me, was Don Antonio de Sylva Figueroa, having lavished a great part of his fortune, amongst other extravagances, on a celebrated Gentoo dancing-girl, by whom he had a son, a circumstance indeed not very common in a commerce with those creatures, saw himself reduced to a condition much beneath his rank and birth. In this state he was, when, on receiving an order from the viceroy to equip a squadron for sea, he found himself utterly unable to furnish the requisite advances to which the duty of his post obliged him. This naturally made him uneasy and melancholy, which being observed by his mistress, who with some difficulty wrung the cause of it from him, she left him abruptly, and in a manner, that made him conclude that she was, in the stile of that sort of women, going to add her desertion to that of fortune, and which would not have been the least of his afflictions. But he was soon surprized at her return, with a casket of jewels and gold to the amount of near three thousand pounds, being more than he wanted, and which she with a very good grace obliged him to take, as a mark of her affection. This
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piece of generosity, for its being so uncommon made the more noise, and reaching the ears of the late king John of Portugal, it affected him so, that by the next ships he sent out letters of legitimation to the admiral's son by that dancer. I am here aware, that a story similar to this in most of its circumstances, is said to have happened in England, from an Operasinger to a late Duke, which however, not destroying the credit of this one, only serves to shew, that if vices are the growth of all climates, so are virtues too, tho' the instances are rarer, and surely rarest amongst those of that character.

THE dress of these women, which is various according to the different provinces, is in all however the most gorgeous and alluring they can imagine. They are generally loaded with jewels, strictly speaking from head to toe, since even on their toes they wear rings. Their necks are adorned with carcanets, their arms with bracelets, and their ankles with chains of gold and silver, and ofteneft enriched with precious stones. They wear also nose-jewels, which at first have an odd appearance, but to which the eye is soon reconciled. But

they, as well as other women in that country, have a peculiar way of managing and preserving their breasts, which at the same time makes no inconsiderable part of their finery. They enclose them in a pair of hollow cups or cases, exactly fitted to them, made of a very light wood, linked together, and buckle at the back. These at once confine the breasts so, as that they cannot grow to any disgustfully exuberant size, and yet, from their smoothness and pliancy, play so freely with every motion of the body, that they do not crush the exquisitely tender texture of the flesh in that part, like the stiff whalebone-stays in use here. Then the outside of them is spread with a thin gold, or silver gilt plate, also set with gems according to their ability, and compose the richest part of their dress, from the display favored by their swelling orbicular form; and they are easily laid aside, and resumed at pleasure.

MANY of them, especially those who are in commerce with the Moguls and Moors, use the embellishment aimed at of old throughout the greatest part of the East, of forming a black circle round their eye-borders, by drawing a bodkin between them, with their eyelids shut, that

that both sides may receive the tint of the stibium or powder of antimony, that sticks to the bodkin. The powder is called by them *surma*. They pretend that it refreshes and cools the eye, besides exciting its lustre, by the ambient blackness. It is not easy however for Europeans unaccustomed to it, to discern at first that grace the Orientalists think it adds to them, though they presently acknowledge it has at least as good an effect as patches, which appeared so strange to some Mallabar merchants, that on seeing the face of Mrs. King, the chief of Anjengo's lady, stuck with them, they condoled very seriously with Mr. King on his wife's distemper, but hoped those breakings-out would soon wear off. Thus arbitrary is the opinion of points of dress in different, and often in the same countries.

ANOTHER occasional ornament the dancing-girls put on, especially on resorting to their gallants, which is a necklace of many and loose turns, composed of flowers strung together, they call mogrees, something resembling Spanish double jessamy, but of a much stronger and more agreeably fragrant odor, and far preferable.

ferable to any perfumes, delighting at once the sight and smell.

For the rest, their cloaths are much in the same fashion as the other women of that country. Instead of petty-coats they wear what they call a lungee, which is simply a long piece of silk, or cotton-stuff, that, without any trouble to make up, serves them just as it comes from the loom, to gird round their loins, and descends to about mid-leg, so that the upper part clipping close, marks with great justness the roundness, and swell about the middle, which tapering away to the legs, gives that loose flow, to the lower part of the lungee, of which the statuaries are so fond for expressing the garb or drapery of a nymph, whilst the jewels and chains with which their otherwise naked legs are adorned, have somewhat the air of buskins. From the girdle upwards to the neck they have no covering, but one of the ends of the lungee purposely left untucked-in, that is flung carelessly over their shoulders, and a very small jacket, so cut, as to leave room for the breast-cases before-mentioned, and ties in a small knot beforehand just above the girdle. On their head they wear

wear nothing but jewels or flowers; and their long black hair is generally braided.

I HAVE before observed, that the younger ones receive a regular training from the elder and superannuated, under whom they study in form all the art of pleasing, which they understand by tradition and personal experience too well not to know how to pass it for nature, in the imitation and refinement of which, without suffering it to be seen, their art specifically consists. They have nothing too of that nauseous boldness which characterises the European prostitutes, their style of seduction being all softness and gentleness, and their caresses, are not only well-managed, but well-timed, with special regard to keep measures with the cloying minutes of satiety.

I HAVE dwelt the more particularly on this article of Asiatic luxury, as it enters for so much into all the entertainments publick or private, of the chief personages in those parts.

THE dress of the Moors themselves is extremely becoming, having, like the greatest

part of the Asiatics, adopted that purely and originally Indian manner of wearing turbants, of fine muslin, the circumvolutions of which form a covering to the head, at once light, and cool, from the air easily penetrating the folds of it, at the same time that they defend it from the rays in the sun, the heat of which acting in a straight line, as cold likewise does, is rebated by the obliquities of the wreathing ; which admits of an infinite variety in the manner of making up, insomuch that many tribes, professions, and even ranks in life, are distinguished by it.

THE Turks undoubtedly took it from the Arabs and Persians, and these by certain tradition from the Indians, and that not till modernly, as appears by the descriptions of those people by the antients. But that the Indian Aborigenes never changed that fashion, or indeed any other in their garb, appears clearly from what Quintus Curtius says of them on that head, and which holds good to this day. *Corpora usque pedes carbasso velant : Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent ; brachios quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent,*
&c.

&c. “ They cloath their bodies with a garment that falls as low as their feet : they bind their feet with sandals, their heads with linnen. They hang their ears with Jewels, and deck their arms and limbs with gold, such of them especially as are eminent for birth and riches.” This passage I have not quoted out of an affectation to quote, but to shew how tenacious the Indians are of their old customs, as the above description exactly answers to their present dress, which has admitted of little or no variation. The Tartar conquerors then in a great part conformed to it, as in many other particulars they found established in India, in like manner as their Country-men used in China a policy that did not a little contribute to quiet their conquests. Another point of finery they have, which is their girdles or cumberbands on the outside of their long vest or cabay, generally richly embroidered, with the two ends depending before, bordered with gold or silver tissue interwoven. In these they stick, on the left-side, their kittarrees, or daggers, the handles of which are either curiously worked or set with precious stones. The blade is short, broad, and converging to a point, nearly in the shape of
of

of what the antients call *Lingula*, from its resemblance to a tongue. “*Gladiolus oblongus* “*in speciem linguæ factus.*” AUL. GELL. Their scimeters are also hung carelessly before them, with the same curiosity in the wormanship of their handles. Instead however of sandals on their feet, they wear embroidered slippers or papooshes, which they take off within-doors, or leave at the feet of the sophas when on a visit. Even the Europeans must, on any audience at the Durbar of Surat, before they are admitted to sit in the Divan before the Governor, submit to pull off their shoes, which is not quite unreasonable, as the floor is commonly spread with the richest carpets.

THE Moors are also much addicted to smoaking, and the great ones amongst them all affect the Persian luxury in that article of cullioons, which are made like decanters of transparent glass, with enamel flowers in their proper colors adherent to the bottom of them. These are full of water, and plugged up with a machine, that at once holds the tobacco artistly caked and lighted, and the insertion of a leathern pipe wired round, of two or three yards length, pliant and coilable like a snake,
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by which name it is known amongst the English. Through this pipe they suck in the smoak, so managed as to receive a coolness, and mildness, by passing first through the water, which it causes to gurgle, so as to form a not unpleasing noise. The poorer sort use only either a coconut-shell, prepared in the same manner for smoaking through the water, which is vulgarly, from the noise it thus makes, called a Hubble-bubble, or the tobacco-leaf simply rolled up, in about a finger's length, which they call a buncus, and is, I fancy, of the same make, as what the West Indians term a segar, and of this the Gentoos chiefly make use.

THE Moors also give strongly into the folly of judicial astrology, which not they alone, but the Orientalists in general, including the Chinese, I suspect to have borrowed from the Indian Bramins, who in India at least are generally the Almanack-makers, and constantly mark in their kalendars, what they call their good and bad days, in the observation of which they are invincibly superstitious. Nor is it impossible, that amongst the many points of religion, that even in the earlier ages, spread
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from the East Westward, and especially thro' Egypt after the return of Osyris, who in his military expedition had penetrated into India, that of the distinction of days into auspicious and inauspicious, "*Dies atri, fasti, nefasti*," might reach even the Romans, who are known to have been so scrupulous on that head. As to the Gentoo-Indians, they are to this day so infatuated with this notion, that their merchants will not let a ship sail, or care to strike a bargain, or, in short, undertake any business of importance, on those days that are set down for unlucky ones.

It is also in respect of a Gentoo custom amongst the head Rajahs of India, that the Mogul Emperor keeps his anniversary feast of being publicly weighed, a solemnity which answers somewhat to our keeping of birthdays.

As to the manners of the Moors and Moguls, they are nearly the same as of the rest of the southern Asiatics, being greatly degenerated from the hardiness and martial spirit of the northern Tartars, as well from the relaxing softness of the climate, as from their
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sliding into the Indian voluptuousness and effeminacy. They are however, from their childhood, tutored and trained up to great gravity and circumspection in public, and especially to curb any passions from breaking out into outward emotions of heat or anger, which they look on as the highest indecency. It is perhaps from this early habit of restraint and dissimulation, that their resentments, which might otherwise evaporate and pass off in menaces or hard words, rankles inwardly in their bosom, till it breaks out, as they see their time and occasion, into more sanguinary effects, and more fatal vindictiveness. Thence the frequent plots, ambushes, circumventions, perfidies, and deep-laid schemes of the great men amongst them, to destroy one another. Their school-education, which is rarely more or other than learning to read the Alcoran, and to write Arabic or Persian, is however supplemented by their introduction into all companies, and scenes of public business, in their tenderest youth, where their fathers carry them not without a due preparation and instruction of how they are to deport themselves, and by this means, under their watchful eye and controul, enter them early into that great University

versity, the World. The Gentoo merchants too use the same method with their children, initiating them, with the first dawn of their reason, into all the mysteries of their trade and contracts, infomuch that it is not uncommon to see boys of ten or twelve years of age, so acute and expert, that it would not be easy to over-reach them in a bargain. And, in truth, their docility, sedateness, and awful regard for their parents are surprizing, considering the extreme fondness of these for their children, which however they temper so judiciously, as not to spoil them; their whole study being to make them consider as the best and tenderest friends they can have in the world, which point once carried, the rest may be imagined to follow in course. The Moors are also fond of having Abyssinian slaves, known in India by the name of Hobshee Coffrees. These mostly come from a certain province subject to the Negus of Ethiopia, called Innariah, to the south of his other dominions, and bordering upon what is commonly called Negroe-land, in the heart of Africa, from whence they are selected, and a great traffic made of them, over all the Mogolistan and Persia. But it is chiefly from the ports of Arabia and the Red Sea, that they are brought.

brought. Nothing can be imagined more smooth or glossy, and perfectly black than their skin, in which they far surpass the negroes on the coast of Guinea, and, generally speaking, have not any thing of their thick lips, though otherwise as woolly-haired as they. This species of slaves is, however, highly valued for their courage, fidelity, and shrewdness, in which they so far excel, as often to rise to posts of great trust and honor, and are made governors of places, when they take the title of Siddees. Such an one was Siddee Massaoud, a great favorer of the English, when he commanded some years ago, in Rogipore, a strong place on the coast of Decan, near Bombay, till he was dispossessed by the superior force of the Marattas, upon which he repaired to Bombay, and afterwards to Surat, where he was again put into command. Nor is this transition from servitude to power so violent as may at first be thought, since all the officers and instruments of the despotic courts of Asia, are involved under the general title of slaves, of which they are even voluntarily proud, Shah Nadir himself having worn that of Thamas Kooley Khawn, or Thamas the king's slave. To do the Orientalists justice, in general they treat

treat their slaves with great humanity, and bind them to faithful and even affectionate service, by their tenderness and next to parental care of them. Thus the Turk and Moorish merchants breed them up to such trust-worthiness, as to employ them as their factors and supercargoes, and suffer them not only to amass fortunes to themselves, but to bequeath them to their children, which is, however, only matter of curtezy. The chief distinction between slaves of this sort and freemen is, that the former are not allowed to let their beards grow, which is considered as the mark of liberty, as the shaving it is held the badge of slavery; and in this point the Arabs are punctiliously exact.

As to the diet of the Moors, it is far from being despicable. Rice stewed dry they use as bread, and look on it as more wholesome, light, cooling, and natural to the climate. The insipidity of it too, is sufficiently corrected by the sauces, with which they accompany it, and are made of fish, flesh, or fowl, generally cut or stewed so, as not to need the knife when served in, whilst the great point of them is to be high-seasoned and savory. They rarely have

meat come to table in joints, and yet are very fond of a dish where the lamb or kid is roasted whole, and stuffed with raisins and pistachionuts, which then serve in lieu of bread to it. They have also almost as many names for their dishes as the European cookery ; but the three most common ones all over India is, currees, kitcharee, and pilow, The currees are infinitely various, being a sort of fricacees, to eat with rice, made of any animals or vegetables ; these last being chiefly used by the Bramins, who never eat what has had life in it, but the reigning ingredients are the pulp of the coconut for thickening, and turmeric for turning the sauce yellow, besides spices to heighten it. Kitcharee is only rice stewed, with a certain pulse they call Dholl, which they reckon very wholesome and nourishing, and is generally ate with salt fish, butter, and pickles of various sorts, to which they give the general name of Achar. The pilow is too well known to need particularizing, only it may be observed, that the addition of the bacon is an European improvement, but which, if the Moors do not admit, they supplement it with the highest spices, and the great ones, in their entertainments, make it a most costly

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regale, by the addition of ambergrease. I have been credibly informed, that at Fort St. George, many years ago, one dish alone was charged to the Company at considerably above two hundred pounds sterling, at a treat given to a Mogul nabob or viceroy, when one Mr. Hyde was steward; a charge to which the Company did not acquiesce, till it was fairly verified by examination. So much however is certainly true, that most of the Europeans soon reconcile themselves to the country-diet, and many at length prefer it to their own, even in point of taste or relish, independent of its being undoubtedly more wholesome, and more adapted to the climate, than the quantities of flesh to which we are used in these colder countries, where the heat being more concentrated facilitates more the digestion. Few of the Moors too abstain from wine or spirituous liquors, but are fonder of cordials and drams than of wine, which they do not think strong enough for them, nor even the Arrack, unless treble-distilled. And what is more unaccountable yet, they pretend that brandy, for example, better known on the Indian coast by the Portuguese name of Aguardiente is cooling, when moderately taken

taken in the very midst of any faintness, brought on by fatigue, or excessive heat of the day. They manage however, with so much discretion and reserve in this article, that even those who have the character of the greatest drinkers amongst them, are never seen, in public, in the indecent disorder caused by that vice, which is not only fatal to their reputation, but sometimes precipitates their governors and great men into a dangerous abuse of their power, of which the following story may at once serve for an instance, and to characterise the genius of those Orientalists. The Nabob of the district of Ahmadavad, a prince of the Mogul's blood, not many years ago, in a drunken fit, had given an order to set fire to the great city of that name. His vizier, who saw that he was not in his senses, and yet durst not by a wise but hazardous disobedience shock the profound eastern jealousy of despotic authority, in this nice dilemma, applied for advice what to do to a Persian princess, wife to the Nabob, and not more remarkable for the exquisiteness of her beauty, than for that of her wit and good sense; being besides, not only more learned than the generality of women in those countries, but skilled in the

composition of Persian poetry, all which merit of the mind and person was not thrown away, since it had succeeded in entirely captivating and attaching her husband to her, who reposed himself principally upon her for the care of his government. Her answer upon this consultation was entirely conformable to the maxims of eastern government, and to the dictates of humanity. “The authority of the prince, said she, is too sacred a point, for either you or me to take upon us to revoke his order. He must then be literally obeyed. Find out in any corner of the town, any of the most detached little houses, from which there may be the least danger of the flames spreading. Set fire to them, first giving the owners time to escape, and paying them amply for the damage, and thus my husband’s authority will be salved, and any material mischief prevented.” This counsel was forthwith put into execution, and besides deserving to the authoress the thanks of her husband, when recovered from his intoxication, raised the reputation of that princess all over the Mogolistan.

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THE equipages and carriages of the Moors consist chiefly in elephants, horses, palanqueens and hackrees.

THE riding on elephants is a point of state chiefly appropriated to the Mogul himself, to the princes of his blood, and the Nabobs or viceroys of provinces, or the great officers of state, and surely nothing can be fitter to strike an awe, or give the impressions of grandeur and pomp, than one of those enormous beasts gorgeously caparisoned, and bearing on its back a kind of canopied throne, in which the person who sits is so majestically conspicuous from such an eminence. These unwieldy animals however, are rather growing into disuse for war (in which even so late as Aurengzeb's time, they made a considerable part of the forces;) since the more prevailing use of fire-arms, and the discovering that withal their docility, it is impossible to break and train them to the field, so as to be sure they will not often do more mischief to their own side, especially when exasperated by wounds, to which their mass makes them a mark hard to miss.

THE best horses in use come from Arabia, but chiefly from Persia, and make a considerable article of trade both by sea and land, and certainly no part of the world produces finer ones, than either of those countries. The Moors also spare for no care or expence in their keeping, and especially for breaking them to the uses of war.

FOR as to the hunting or racing, though no strangers to those pleasures, they are so far considered by them as inferior points, as to have little or no share in their training.

As to the Palanqueens, they seem to me the utmost stretch of invention for humoring the constitutional indolence of those people, as surely a more lazy conveyance could not well be imagined. It consists of a bed and bedstead, with short feet, covered over head with an ample canopy; commonly of either velvet or cloth, fastened by the means of cross sticks and silken or cotton cords to the arch of the stick or bamboo, from the ends of which arch proceed the poles which are all of one piece with it, and are carried by six, but most commonly four bearers, hired for that purpose at
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very low monthly wages. The person carried may very conveniently sit upright under the arch, being bolstered up in that posture, by one or two large pillows, which may occasionally serve to recline his whole length, or even sleep on them by the way. This arch of the bamboo, is prepared whilst the tree is young, by keeping it bent in such a manner, as to grow into the desired form, according to the perfection of which, and size, it bears a less or greater price. Some of these are made very expensive according to the decorations employed on them, such as the rich stuff of which this portable couch and its canopy are made, gold or silver tassels, and feet; which last are often carved and plated over to represent couchant lions, griffins, or other figures. And the ends of the poles are also incased with the like metals generally presenting a tyger's head. But this last is a badge of authority, granted only to a few of the greatest authority and distinction. In which point they are imitated by the English, for though there are few persons of any note or eminence, but what, in our settlements, keep palanqueens, the tygers heads are reserved for the governor, and second of the council. At Calcutta in

Bengal some of our gentlemen, probably disgusted with the reproachfully indolent attitude incident to this method of carriage, invented a new one, by which means the bedstead was converted into a plat-form, that supported a common arm-chair well fixed on it, upon which they could sit more decently and full conveniently under the canopied arch. Others contrived, still preserving the bamboo-form a-top, and at the ends, so as to be carried on the shoulders a conveyance, in all other points resembling a sedan-chair. In Bombay and Surat during the rains, they cover them with a thatch, easily put off or on, made of the leaves of brab-trees, a species of wild palm, and lined with callico, forming a snug shelter impenetrable to the violentest rain, with windows that shut or open at pleasure. In Bengal and other places they defend them, but not so effectually, with a wax or oil-cloth thrown over them. The jealousy of the Moors has also suggested them a scheme of covering the palankeens, in which their women are carried, which not in the least excluding the air, or sight from within, only hinders those without from seeing them, and this is effected by a various-colored silk-netting thrown

thrown loose over the whole machine. Of the same nature as palankeens, but of a different name, are what they call andolas, of which the couch is by the cross-sticks fastened to a streight instead of an arched bamboo, and consequently admit of no other posture than lying at length. These are much cheaper, and less esteemed than the palankeens. Doolies are much of the same make as the andolas, but made of the meanest materials, being only a coyr-cott slung also on a streight bamboo, and hardly ever used but to carry the poorer sick. The Moors too have affixed such an idea of state to palanqueens, that in most countries conquered by them over the Gentoos, they forbid these last the use of them, unless on the day of their marriage, for which institution they preserve so high a veneration, that it is proverbial with them to say, that a man on that day is as great as a king, and consequently grudge him no ensigns of royalty.

THE hackrees are a conveyance drawn by oxen, which would at first give one an idea of slowness, that they certainly do not deserve. For there are of them, especially those which are well trained and managed for that purpose, that

that would maintain their rate, against horses in full trot, and the smallest are generally the fleetest. Of these the Gentoos chiefly make use, especially the banyans and merchants of Surat; and though I cannot say from knowledge that they are directly concerned in the castrating of those animals, which is performed by a cruelly painful operation, not by excision, but by the compression of a ligature, that intercepting the nourishment conveyed to those parts, causes them to rot off, yet it is plain, that with all their bigot veneration for that species of animals, they make no scruple of using them for that service. And certainly it is more for the obtaining it the most effectually, and for the sake of show, than out of tenderness for them, that they keep them as sleek, as clean, and in good plight as possible, feeding them with balls made of the flower of gram, a kind of pease, and coarse sugar. And so far they succeed, as to render the yoke of a pair of them far from being unfightly; the oxen of that country, especially of Guzarat and Cambay, being generally white, like those produced about Milan in Italy, and some of them as large at least as our Lincolnshire cattle, contrasting to which
whiteness

whiteness, they paint their horns with a shining black, and hang bells about their necks, in the same style, and for the same purpose, as those of our carriers horses. As to the conveyances themselves, they are open on three sides, covered a-top, and made to hold two people, sitting cross-legged in the Oriental manner, consequently flat and without raised seats, but with a pillow at the back to support or to recline on. And here their jealousy has invented another method of concealing their women from sight, by means of folding blinds, or checks let fall round the open sides. These are commonly coarsely painted, and made of the fibres of the coconut, or brab-tree leaves, so disposed and loosely sown together, as to let in the air, and not hinder the sight of those within them. These checks also, with the difference of being large and lined with some coarse transparent stuffs, serve the natives for anti-porta's to their apartments, so commodiously at once for coolness and privacy, that something of the like nature might not be a despicable improvement, even in Europe. Each hackrey too has its driver, who sits on the shaft, equipped with a goad, and who take care of the oxen, and is called the hackrey-wallah.

rey-wallah. But, in Bengal, I am told, the eminentest of the Gentoo-merchants have come into the use of horses and chaises, in which they are so fond of a parade, they know they may safely display under the English government, and which for fear of a fleecing they durst not do, under that of the natives, as to have them richly ornamented, and even the reins garnished with silver or gilt studs.

UPON the whole, it must be allowed, that in most of those points, in which the luxuries of life consist, those Orientalists are little if at all inferior to the Europeans. If they have not their taste for statues, paintings, cabinets of medals, and such like articles of refined curiosity, they are not at least deficient in those of a sensuality, to which the warmth of the climate so strongly and so unhappily inclines them, being by this enervity and relaxation, generally speaking, rendered unsusceptible of those manly virtues, and that hardiness constitutional to those born under the colder and rougher zones. Thence most probably the indolent and slavish acquiescence of the Eastern nations in general, under that detestable form of government, despotism. Where not the profusest

profusest fertility of the soil, not the Elyzian temperature of the air in many parts, nor the choicest blessings of nature, can atone for the want of the greatest of them, Liberty. Here an Englishman cannot but, in the comparison, find fresh incentives, if that could be necessary, to the love of his country, in which the mildest laws, under the most admirably tempered constitution, secure to him his life, his property, and what is dearest of all, his freedom.

*Of the state of the Roman Catholick
Religion in INDIA.*

THE numbers of Roman catholics living under the humane protection of our English government in India, where they experience all the tenderness of our truly christian spirit of toleration, furnish me with one reason for attempting to set the state of their religion in those countries in its true light, but a stronger one yet occurs to me, in the expedience not only of undeceiving the public of the many false accounts imposed on it by the
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Roman missionaries, but of wiping off the reproach of want of zeal in the Protestants, for not taking the pains that they do, in the conversion of infidels, to the Christian faith. To this task then I shall dedicate the present chapter, which shall be followed by others, continuing some remarks I had occasion to make on the three capital divisions of worship in those parts, the Mahometan, the Gentoo, and the Parsee religions, in which I shall proceed, purely as a candid relator of what I could learn of them worth particularizing, and not at all in the stile of a dry theological discussion, for which I confess myself entirely unqualified.

To begin then with the Roman-catholic religion ; it is necessary to premise, that the Portuguese who were the first modern discoverers of the navigation to India, were also the first planters of the Christian faith, such as it is after their mode, in the countries they conquered, or into which they penetrated. Charitably then granting that the pure piety of their kings, actuated their zeal for the propagation of their faith, without worldly respects, it cannot however be denied, that the conduct
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of their missionaries was of a nature the farthest in the world from deserving that opinion of disinterestedness. Wherever the force of the Portuguese arms prevailed, as it might easily do over nations naturally unmartial, and at that time so unacquainted with the use and noise of fire-arms, that they were as much conquered by the ears, as by the eyes, on which last the strangeness of the European garb had not also a little effect; wherever I say the Portuguese prevailed, or gained settlement, one of their first points was to stock the place with missionaries. These, whilst under the sanction of a military power that awed the natives, preached a religion so new, and so hard to be understood by the natives, and indeed so ill understood by themselves who preached it, they at the same time collaterally used it as an engine for forming and securing a party amongst their proselytes, for advancing the Portuguese interest and power in those countries. Which by the way is exactly the same game, as has been long played, and is still actually playing by the French in America, with the Indian nations, allies to or dependent on us, with whom their missionaries insinuate themselves, where those unfair preachers on our own grounds,

grounds, act the part rather of the panders of ambition, than of the propagators of religion.

IN the infancy then of the Portuguese conquests, the awe they struck, the dazzling splendor of their successes, the partial preference and encouragement they shewed to all the Indian proselytes, all so far co-operated to favor conversions, that especially on the coasts of India, they brought over if not considerable subjects, at least a number sufficient to boast of, and yet nothing near so great as they did boast of. The truth is, that excepting a very few indeed of the best sort of the Gentoos, and those chiefly converts, less to the force of their arguments, than to certain temporal motives of advantage, of pique, or of resentment, their success chiefly lay amongst the lowest and refuse tribes of the Gentoos. A circumstance which alone, without any other reason of aversion, greatly impeded the progress of their mission amongst the higher tribes or casts, who could never be reconciled to that levelling spirit, which it is so much for the honor of the true religion to establish, by making all Christians as it were brothers. But
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the Bramins, and Nayrs, the nobles of the Malabar-coast, could not without horror think of seeing the lowest casts, whom it was even a profanation to come within reach of their breath or touch, raised to any equality with them. Whereas many of those miserable people, won by a condescension of the priests to talk familiarly with them, nay to court and bribe them to quit that their native religion, in which they were so despised, and hardly treated as human creatures, listened to their arguments, and either were or pretended to be persuaded by them. And it is certainly out of these that the bulk of the new Christians was formed; if the name of Christian may, without prophagation, be given to such as received no better instruction than they did, consisting chiefly in the ceremony of baptism which they were never taught to understand, in the parotry of Ave-marys, and a few words learnt by rote, an Agnus Dei, or a copper crucifix hung about their necks, not forgetting a rosary, in which equipage, and with their special profession of believing implicitly whatever the priests believed, without knowing what, how much, or why they were to believe, they were currently pronounced *Buon-christianos*. Such is succinctly

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cinctly but truly the picture of by much the greatest part of the Indian converts, or of their descendants ; for it is not to be supposed, but that there may be some, though certainly a very few, exceptions to this general description.

IN the mean time, despicable as these profelytes mostly were, despicable I do not mean in quality of men with human souls, whose salvation is doubtless as precious as that of those of the highest rank, in the eye of the common father of all men, but on the account of their want of apparent conscientious motives, and of the evident insufficiency of instruction, both in point of time and manner to account for such a conversion ; these profelytes, I say, became so many subjects, acquired to the state and church, the more to be depended on, as amongst the Gentoos there is no such thing as a regrefs ever admitted into their religion, after any act of renunciation, no nor even but very rarely when the separation has been incurred by some involuntary transgression of those capital points in which their religion consists, as shall be more fully shewn when I come to treat of it. Thus when once
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any of these Gentoos had embraced the Christian religion, they generally stick to it, since they could not go back to their own, though some afterwards turned Moors. But of this there were but few examples. And though these converts were, as before observed, of the lowest tribes, Cooleys, Corumbees, Pooliahs, and even Poolichees, a cast hardly suffered to breathe the common air, being driven into the forrests and mountains out of the commerce and mankind, they did not fail of being useful to the Portuguese, who could deal by the way of arms, with the superior sort, and only wanted those of the lower for servants, mechanics, and soldiers, in which last capacity, under the name of Topasses, some did good service, and their descendants are to this day employed by our Company in that quality. I have the more reason too to think, that the first converts were principally drawn out of those mean classes of the Gentoos, for that in Bombay I never could learn that any of the Christian-Indian families deduced their descent from Bramins, or Sinays, a kind of less strict Bramins, and second to them in rank. There might however easily be some without my knowing it, but I am sure they must be very

few, and I was credibly informed, that even at Goa, the Portuguese metropolis, the same proportion was nearly kept. In the mean time the Portuguese of India are perfectly right to call their religion *THE FAITH, LA FEE*, as being the only one, and it would be indeed a pity there should be another like it on the face of the universe. For surely nothing can be imagined more repugnant to the true worship of God, in the beautiful simplicity of the true theology, nor more dishonorable to humanity. One would imagine they had pillaged every other religion of every thing that was absurd, ridiculous, or detestable, to compose that monster of their own. I say nothing of what has been already made so clear, of their borrowing and adulterating, ofteneft for the worse, from the antient heathens, who themselves very probably derived many of their rites and ceremonies from the East, but shall only mention a few particulars, wherein the Orientalists challenge several points of the Roman-catholic worship as originally belonging to them, and which perhaps a chronological discussion of the specific time in which they were adopted into that church, would more manifestly clear up.

THE rosary, for example, is pretended to have been but an imitation introduced by some vagrant monks, of the Tezbush or Mahometan beads, on which those of that sect repeat their *Bismillah*, exactly in the same stile as the Papists do their *Pater-nosters*, and *Ave Marys*; and even this custom comes originally from the Indian Gentoos.

THEIR mendicant fryers seem but a copy, and a most wretched one, of their mendicant Joguys, whose abstinence from all animal food, contemplative life, austerities and macerations, far exceed whatever their most famous ascetics ever so much as attempted. From them too the Mahometans borrowed their institution of *Faquirs*, or holy beggars, so that both Europe and Asia owe all that pesterable swarm of vermin, the monks of both those religions, to a perverted imitation of the Gentoo religion in that point.

As to the matter of idols, it is great impudence in the Roman-catholics, to reproach the Gentoos with theirs, or to imagine, that the frivolous distinction in words, between the ac-

tual worship of them, or of the using them only as helps to their memory in their devotion, can either be understood, or not rejected by them, when they see these words contradicted by their actions, and the images in their churches manifestly applied to and invoked, as if they were living representatives. Can they then be blamed, if idols for idols, they prefer their own, especially too as they infinitely less nonsensically, instead of exhibiting them in ridiculous human forms, such as, for example, a woman gorgeously drest like a curtezan, with a fruz bob-wig with a crown on it, and a large hoop-petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and a little child in her arms, frame their images in a hieroglyphical style, of which the oddity and monstrosities are somewhat salved by the meaning couched under them, and by their disclaimer of attempting to represent the Divinity under any thing of human likeness, further than to convey instruction in their mythology? Thence the idol of a man with an elephant's head, of another with a number of hands, denotative of his various power, and holding some mysterious or emblematical thing in each. All which the Bra-
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mins do not want for the sense to oppose to the idols of the Papists, than whom most certainly, such as they are at least in India, Christianity cannot have greater enemies, since whatever deforms the divine simplicity of the Gospel, and by evidently wordly-interested, absurd, and cruel adulterations, tends to render a religion ridiculous and detestable, must naturally weaken its force of persuasion, and even involve in its condemnation, though but for having the same name as Christians, the purer Reformed. Thus, for example, the Mahometans cannot, with respect to the Protestants, overcome that inveterate prejudice they have conceived of their being *God-eaters*, as they emphatically and opprobriously nickname the Christians in general, and accordingly lump conclusions against them all. And as to the Papists endeavoring to explain away the horror created by that idea, by the word *Mystery*, a word of which too they have a perfect conception, having one in the Arab language *Gheib* (*occult*) that answers to it, they treat it with the utmost scorn and contempt, as never allowing it to enter into any definition of the Supreme Being, concerning whom they esteem all mysterious expressions to be a prophanation

of the sacred simplicity of his existence, and at most, and hardly suffer them to be employed in accounting for some of the fabulous visions of their prophet, as contained in the Alcoran, which however the wiser and learned part of the Mahometans are far from either respecting or believing.

YET candor forces me to confess that even that scandalous conformity, of the Papists worship, in many points to the Gentoos, might lessen to the most ignorant and weak amongst them, the objection of too violent a transition; as they found in that church, so many superstitions of nearly the same nature as those to which they had been used, and from which some of them, as before remarked, had most probably been originally deduced.

IT is also in justice to the Papists, that I am induced to acquit them of the infamy of being the original inventors of that infernal tribunal the Inquisition, for even that, it is not improbable that they borrowed from Almamoun, one of the Arabian Caliphs, who first instituted a Court of Inquisition, (which however he afterwards on better advice annulled) on the
question

question which divided at that time the Mahometan sect; *whether the Alcoran was created or uncreated*, a point of about as much importance, as the famous one agitated with so much rancorous and senseless bigotry amongst the Papists; *whether the Virgin Mary was conceived or not in original sin?* But be whose it will the invention, not imagination can reach that mixture of horror and ridicule with which the Inquisition was set up and exercised at Goa, on the coast of Mallabar, by way of aping that in Europe. Only the victims of its cruelty in India, instead of the miserable Jews, of whom these could not be a sufficient number to glut its cruelty and avarice, and to furnish out a decent execution at their *Autos da Fé*, were mostly taken from out of the body of the Indian Christians, who thereby stood an infinitely worse chance, than if their ancestors or they had continued in their paganism, and consequently unexposed, and unobnoxious to the pragmaticalness of its jurisdiction. For its familiars or emissaries, in want of prey, and having their eye especially on the converts, or their descendants, especially if any of them had got rich, and would afford a handsome confiscation to that holy Tribunal of theirs, the

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Santa casa, made it their business to pry into all their actions and deportments. And as these people were generally of the lowest extraction amongst the Gentoos, and so extreamly weak and ignorant, as to be incapable of being well-grounded in any religion, some of them might, no doubt, be tempted to retain a kind of connexion with their former brethren and relations, and even occasionally assist at some of their antient customary practices, and those most certainly not religious ones, as there was no return for them to that religion they had quitted, but which turned on the follies of divination, conjuring the sick, and the like. But this, or the suspicion of this, was treated as a relapse, and exposed those wretches who could only deserve pity, to the last rigors of the church-persecution, and numbers of them were devoted to the flames, and piously consigned to eternal damnation, for acts of the greatest simplicity and folly, branded by the priest with the names of sorcery and apostacy, though the first is even too ridiculous to deserve a confutation of its existence at all, and the other was impossible to them, if they had even the intention of it. And yet as if this tyrannical cruelty had not of itself been execrable

ecrable enough, it was accompanied with that usual compliment made at the delivering over those miserable creatures to the secular power, to be burnt, which is so solemn a mockery of God and man, when the Dominicans, in whose hands that jurisdiction is, with joint-hands, and pathetic fervor, entreat that no corporal harm may be done to them; at the same time that they well know the stage and the fagots are ready prepared for their execution, and that if they were not so, and that they were to be taken at their word, they would be the first to cry out that their church was in danger, and not improbably excite a rebellion to restore that very cruelty they affect to condemn, and of which themselves are the prime instigators and instruments. So consummately anti-christianized then may this tribunal be pronounced to be, from all the manifest motives and method of its procedure, that, if our blessed Savior himself was to return on earth, into any place under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, there is no doubt to be made, but that it would burn him for a heretic, if he ventured to preach his own pure and unsophisticated doctrine, or was to deny any of those points of theirs, on which they have

have founded the insolence of their tyranny, and the revenues of their avarice.

NOTHING however gave the neighboring Gentoo princes, and Marattas especially, so great an aversion for the Portuguese nation, as this report of their cruelty on a religious account, for themselves being all strictly and unreservedly observers of toleration in their dominions, they held such persecutions in the higher horror, which had not a little share in the Marattas determination to invade them as they did, and strip them of their territories.

IN the mean time, as the Christian Indians were chiefly composed of such as had been converted by the Portuguese missionaries, and numbers of them falling under the English domination, the English, who had sufficient cause to be jealous of the plots and conspiracies of the priests of that nation against their interest, and yet were unwilling to deprive their Roman-catholick subjects, as for example at Bombay, of the fullest liberty in their own way of worship, fell on the salving expedient, of an indirect application to the court of Rome, for its sending missionaries of any other nation
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to take charge of the parishes under their jurisdiction, and by this means at once removed any suspicion of intolérance, and guarded against the danger from the seduction and arts of the Portuguese priests. These last were however more agreeable to the Christian Indians in general, especially as the Inquisition had no hold over those of them who were our subjects, and was therefore no longer an objection to the priests of that nation, whose gross ignorance suited better with theirs, and whose discipline was more relaxed in points of morality, and indeed in all points that did not affect the power of the church.

OUR settlements then were supplied with French, German, or Italian missionaries, generally of more conduct and learning than the Portuguese ones, and who were always, according to their degrees of merit, treated with regard, and even familiar friendship, by the English gentlemen. Certain it is too that they live with the greatest freedom and ease under our government, whose protection some of the vicars of the parishes do not even scruple to reclaim against any vexation or oppression from the superiors of their own church, as after admission,

admission, they are not to be removed or replaced without the consent of the English government. It has been said, but with what truth I do not pretend to warrant, not being sufficiently informed, that at Madraſs the English ſmarted for not having taken the ſame precaution againſt the French, their neighbours there, as they had done againſt the Portugueſe, for that the French prieſts of a fine church they were allowed even within the walls, had not a little contributed by their intelligence and connexions with their countrymen at Pondicherry, to further their deſigns on that our capital ſettlement on the Coromandel coaſt. The which, if it is not true, is at leaſt probable.

AND here, amongſt many inſtances that might be brought to ſhew, that pious frauds run through the whole of that religion, in all the nations of it, though ſometimes diſcountenanced by the honeſter part of them, I ſhall juſt mention one ſtory currently received in India. When Cardinal Tournon, who was ſpecially commiſſioned by the Pope to inſpect, ſettle, and report to him the ſtate of Chriſtianity in China, for which he could lay no ſtreſs on the manifold falſe accounts of the jeſuits,

jesuits, and of the religious orders there at variance with them, he touched in his way on the coast of Coromandel, and at a particular district there, under the spiritual care of French priests, out of curiosity called for the register of baptisms there, an extract of which had been printed at Paris, setting forth, that one of the fathers, as the missionaries are called, had converted and baptized so many thousands in one day, that he was forced to have two men to support his arms, tired with the ceremony of blessing and crossing such numbers. The register was produced, and there did not appear that on that, or any other day, more than one or two had received baptism. On this falsification, and the priests excusing this fraud, on the old score of a pious intention, he duly reprimanded them, as he was in truth reckoned a man of probity. And he fared accordingly, for if the jesuits did not even poison him in China, as they were closely and perhaps falsely accused, at least they were the authors of such indignities and usage to him, as amounted to the same, since he sunk and died under them, a martyr to their jealousy and fears of his reporting nothing but what was truth of them.

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BUT none were ever more industrious, and at the same time grosser artificers of such lying impositions and miracles than the Portuguese priests. Such, for example, as of the ship that came in one night from the Cape of Good Hope plump into the harbour of Goa, a distance of some thousands of miles, the Devil holding the helm, and the Virgin Mary at the cond, in quality of quarter-master, in proof of which they show you at Goa two monuments of stones, expressing the exact length of the ship's keel, with many of the like absurdities, which however are matter of inquiry to express any doubt of, though so ridiculous, as that the relation of them would only surfeit the reader, or raise his compassion for such sottish credulity on one side, and his indignation at the coarseness of the impostures on the other. This last indeed is no wonder, considering the profound ignorance and impudence of the Portuguese priests in general, even of those who come from Europe: and as to numbers admitted into their religious orders, in India itself, even a Roman-catholic author, Luillier, avers, that they were often taken out of the class of the common seamen and soldiers, without the least tincture of religion,

gion, to which I dare add, and with scarce the qualification of reading, and for this he notes especially the Augustines.

BUT the truth is, that even the prelates and dignitaries of the greatest eminence amongst them, are barely tinctured with the most superficial erudition. Their whole stock and sort of knowledge being justly enough manifested by their libraries, which consist of nothing but books of casuistry, legendary lives of saints, decretals with their commentaries; in short, of all the rubbish of scholastic Divinity, fitter to turn one's stomach against, than one's heart to their religion.

BUT what is more incredible yet; even the Portuguese jesuits, to which society in France, Italy and Germany no reproach can justly be made of want of learning, or of even polite literature, are in India involved in the same gross illiterateness as the rest of their clergy. In short, they are profoundly ignorant of every point but one, which is the advancement of their influence and wealth by all the powers of crafty insinuation, and interested industry, for which they are so noted in Europe. Known
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chiefly by the name of Paulists, they observe, to all outward appearance, a more reserved and decent conduct than the other religious orders, and, to judge by their acquisitions, seem to have better understood all the arts of legacy-hunting, and of taking in the laity for donations. Instead of their three-cornered cap, in India they generally wear a hat with enormous broad brims, always flapped round, which might very well serve them for an umbrella, under which they appear abroad, with a pharisaical demureness, and dejected eyes, by way of affecting humility, or rather from not caring to look the world in the face. In short, they are as much hated and courted as in some countries in Europe, and both out of a fear of their power and vindictiveness; a fear bred by weakness, and which would vanish on their being seen in their true light.

To compleat too the Indian churches mimicry of all the folly and wickedness of the European ones in that religion, they have not omitted those ecclesiastical seraglios or harems, convents of nuns, where numbers of ignorant silly girls are decoyed, and shut up, against the express will of God, so surely signified by the universal

versal cry of Nature through all her animated works, and especially in that melting hot climate. But what gross conception the Portuguese themselves have of the chastity of these wretched recluses, may be gathered from what a bigot of that nation himself told me, that no cucumbers, plantains (a round oblong fruit) or any thing in short of a suspicious form, was suffered to pass their turning-box, without being first cut in slices and disabled, lest those spiritual spouses of the Divinity should make a very unspiritual use of them.

IN several books of voyages, and especially those written by the priests of that church, you seldom fail of meeting with pathetic descants and encomiums on the ardent zeal of the missionaries, that for the sake of propagating the gospel quit their native countries, brave all the inconveniencies of travelling into foreign ones, and there expose themselves to all hardships, dangers, and even to martyrdom. All this is specious, but generally speaking false, and notoriously so in India, where toleration is almost universally practised. And if any of them have suffered in some parts, as they certainly have suffered, the causes must be sought

for not in religious but political provocation. For wherever they nestled, or could get footing, the first use they were sure to make of their power and influence amongst their proselytes, was to put the very government, to the mildness of which they owed their admission, into danger, both from foreign and domestic enemies, by their cabals and encroachments on the temporal power. For this it was that they were persecuted, and not martyred but punished, even to the utter extirpation out of Japan and Ethiopia of the religion they had introduced, and which thus suffered for their crimes and excesses, not without involving numbers of innocents in its fall. But in purely India, where they obtain settlements, even under the Moorish and Heathen princes, it is always their own fault, if they are not even treated with tenderness and respect. Every one who knows the condition of Monks in the European convents, where they are the slaves to their superiors, and to the duties of a sequestered life, having nothing but the pittance and allowance of the Order, must also know, that many of them can hardly change it for a worse. Whereas, when once arrived in India, and placed at the head of parishes, in
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those delicious and fertile countries, their life then becomes a very pleasing transition from their former one, in every point of ease, luxury, freedom, and spiritual power over their black flocks especially, whose ignorance and simplicity afford them all the advantages they could wish of gratifying all their passions, of which as mere men they are susceptible, and to which as mere men they commonly indulge, with the utmost safety, each being a kind of little pope in his district. So that it is a mere jest to attribute any great merit to the motives of their expatriation and apostolical labors. It is also not a new, though a perfectly just observation, that no missionaries hardly ever chuse any theatre for their missions, unless in those countries where there is money or good living to be procured. They take special care to steer clear of those destitute and barren places, where nothing but naked conversions are to be hoped. On such a choice too their merit at the Court of Rome depends. If the success of their famous Xaverius had been amongst a poor obscure people, instead of the wealthy Japanese, he had probably never been canonized, or his name found a place in the Romish Calendar.

As to the English, who came later than the Portuguese into India, they had surely reason enough from the despicable state in which they saw the boasted conversions operated by that nation, and from the indisposition of the soil to receive with any hopes of fruit, the seeds of the evangelical truth, they had reason enough, I say, to be discouraged from attempting, what in all moral probability could promise no success, without such a power of miracles, as was not given to them, which they disdained to forge, and which nothing human can supplement with efficacy against the invincible opposition of the united powers of climate, character, and an inveterate prejudice, yet more confirmed by the example of such converts as compose that contemptibly disfigured and corrupted Christianity, of which the Roman-catholics have so loudly boasted the introduction into India.

of

Of the Mahometan Religion.

THIS religion was undoubtedly introduced into Indostan, in the usual manner of it, by the sword, though in some countries more to the eastward, as in the Moluccas, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, &c. it found its way chiefly by the insinuation of its doctrine, perfectly accommodated to the turn of thought, and sensuality of those people. It was however much more rigorously profest in the provinces that now constitute the Mogolistan, when they were under subjection to the Patans, that Arab colony, which about four hundred years before Tamerlane had penetrated to Dehli, and there founded that empire, from which, after its continuance in a dynasty of thirty-one kings, they were at last radically expelled by Babar-Shaw, a descendant from Tamerlane, who finished the conquest of India. I have before observed, that the Moors grew more relaxed under a series of princes originally indifferent to all religions. But it is also true, that even in Arabia itself, the country of that founder of this religion, that spirit

of enthusiasm, which at once animated and empowered its professors in the infancy of it to spread their conquests is greatly declined, and their zeal for making profelytes almost grown obsolete. The Arabs seem to have given over all thought of extending their dominion either on a spiritual or temporal account, as if their strength and their fanatical frenzy had left them all at once.

As to Mahomet himself, there is still a faint reverence kept up for his name, which is, however, more matter of habit than of devotion. Neither was their superstitious regard for him ever pushed that length which is commonly imagined. That furious zeal of which the first Saracen conquerors made such a parade, and so successfully availed themselves, had not so much a veneration for Mahomet for its object, as the unity of the Supream Being; in the invocation of which, if they joined the commemoration of his name, it was purely out of gratitude for his being the missionary of that unity, and for his destroying that idol-worship, to which Arabia had continued so long under bondage. For the rest they looked on him as a mere man, subject to all the fail-
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ings and passions of one, and so far from addressing him as a saint, that in their moschs and orisons, they do not pray to him but for him, recommending him to the divine mercy. Neither is there any such thing, as what has been vulgarly believed, of pilgrimages to his tomb. These being, in a religious sense, solely directed to what is called the Cahabah, or holy-house at Mecca, which having long been an idol-temple, was by Mahomet dedicated to the Unity of God, and wherein he yet retained, in complaisance to the idolaters, the famous black-stone, which had been worshipped by them as representing Akbar their *Greatest* god. The prophet's tomb is at Medina, visited by the Mahometans, purely out of curiosity and reverence to his memory; but the Indian Moors frequently return without ever seeing it at all though it is so near Mecca.

If some of their bigots were weak enough to consider the koran as an inspired book, by much the greater number of the Mahometans, giving it all the praise they think due to it for its containing their favourite doctrine of the unity, at the same time insist, that in other respects it is no more than a common performance,

ance of which many other Arabians might have been capable, either in point of matter or language. The famous Motazales was the first that more openly broached this opinion, and was followed in it not only by great numbers of the Mahometans, but by several of the Khaliphs themselves of the race of Mahomet, who even persecuted to death many who declared for the divine and uncreated essence of that book. A book than which surely never any thing appeared with more evident marks of imposture, full as it is of inconsistencies, incoherencies, and pitifully absurd fictions, and so manifestly written from day to day, according to occurrences, that some of the chapters came out expressly and adaptedly to the various circumstances of Mahomet's interest or passions. Sometimes, in order to regulate the distribution of the plunder, at others to quiet the scandal he gave, either by taking another man's wife away from him, and that man even his adopted son, or by his commerce with his Egyptian slave Mary, not but that there are here and there scattered through it some excellent passages and sentences of morality, set off with the pomp of figure and metaphors, and with the usual Asiatic swell. And yet most of them
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are mere common-place, and such as may be supposed to have been penned for him (for he could neither read or write himself) by his coadjutors a Jewish Rabbi, and Sergius the Nestorian monk, known amongst the Arabs by the name of Baheerah. Upon the least reflection on them then every thing that is worth notice in that extraordinary book shrinks to little more than nothing. Even the greatest zealots for it esteem the 112th chapter equal in value to a third part of the whole koran, though containing no more than the following few words,
 “ * *Say God is one God: The eternal God:*
 “ *He begetteth not; neither is he begotten, and*
 “ *there is not any one like unto him.*”

HAVING in the preceding chapter mentioned certain apparent points of imitation of the Orientalists, in the innovators, or rather defacers of the Christian system, in favor of that stupendous fabric of Church-power they have raised on its ruins, there appeared to me another point of designed conformity, or at least of accidental co-incidence, doubtless too obvious to have escaped others, though their having

* Sale's Koran.

taken notice of it may easily have escaped me.

It is well known that after Mahomet's death, the succession to his power in spirituals and temporals devolved to the Khaliphs, and though the Popes were of an antienter institution, yet they had not risen to that summit of power and dominion, which they afterwards did, till some centuries after the establishment in form of the Mahometan religion, with the princes of which some of them kept a correspondence; whilst all of them seem to have copied, and improved on the model of the government of the Khaliphs, at least if the following striking points of resemblance may be allowed to warrant such a conjecture.

THE title taken by the successors to that pretended prophet was that of Khaliph, or vicegerent of Mahomet: the popes assumed the modest one of vicegerent of Jesus Christ. Nor were the Mahometans ever fonder of their tenet of the unity of the god-head in heaven, than the papists of asserting the unity of the pope's vice-god-head on earth.

THE Khaliphs, who were originally styled *commanders of the faithful* in a temporal sense, as being generalissimos of the mussulmen, even on their decline from that power, still retained it in a spiritual one, asserting a supream jurisdiction and the right of disposing of, and of conferring the investiture of kingdoms and dominions that did not belong to them, on princes of their belief. And have not the popes, in that identical quality of spiritual *commanders of the faithful*, arrogated to themselves the same prerogative?

THE Khaliphs had a peculiar ecclesiastical state or district, subjected at once to their spiritual and temporal authority, and of which the town where they kept their court was considered as the metropolis and see of their religion: so had and still have the popes.

THIS parallel, if needful, might yet be pushed further to show that the Romish church, amidst all its insolence and presumption, was mean enough to copy the very originals it affected to despise and condemn, and for want of the talent of invention, was
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forced to be beholden even to the Heathens and Mahometans for all its principal points of ambition and avarice. Nor were the papists entirely to blame for this recourse of theirs to the enemy, sure as they were to find nothing of that sort to favor their purposes in the scriptures, which it was yet more sacrilegious in them, supplementally to force into their services, by torturing texts, into saying whatever they pleased. Thus, however, they at length succeeded in composing that strange phantom, or rag-doll of their church-authority, which they set up as the Queen of nations, and which they never could have compassed, but through the profound ignorance, and its concomitant superstition in which the laity was then immersed, and lyable to all the frauds and encroachments of the popes. Yet it seems to be some mitigation of the guilt of those Roman Khaliphs, to suppose that they could not have conceived so transcendently impudent a scheme as what they carried into execution, if they had not been encouraged to it by some example. But that this conformity might be only matter of purely chance, there is no being positive in the negative, but so much is certain, that the Khaliphs were greatly too
haughty

haughty to borrow any institutions from the popes, on whose side the imitation then, if at all, must have been.

ALL that fanaticism of the Mahometans however, being now pretty well subsided into a more sober common sense, and that not only in India, but even on the spot whence it originally sprung ; they grow much less troublesome and tyrannical to the Christians, and indeed to all sects who live peaceably under their government ; though they are still as rigid as ever, in their not suffering any converts to be made out of their religion into another ; nor can I find, that the Roman missionaries are ever fond of aspiring to the crown of martyrdom in attempting it. Their chief quarry is the Gentoos, and even towards them their apostolical zeal is greatly slackened, probably from the jest of it being grown more stale, from being more seen through by their own laity ; besides that, their conversions generally cost them money, which they could not lately so well afford.

THE Mahometans seem also to grow the more purely Unitarians, in proportion as their
zeal

zeal for the mere ceremonial part of their discipline relaxes ; nor will they so much as hear with patience any argument against that fundamental point of their religion. At the article of death they invoke no name but that of Allah, God, and generally die with it in their mouths, especially the Tartars, whose distance of country from the local spring-head of that religion, and whose original principles of pure Deism, render them more indifferent to any mention of Mahomet. And, in truth, most of his sectaries push their veneration for the Supreme Being so far, as not only never to mention God with the least irreverence, but they think it even blasphemous to praise or define a Being, whom they look on as so infinitely above all praise, definition or comprehension. They do not then approve even of terming him Good, Righteous, Merciful, or the like, not only for their thinking such epithets just as superfluous, or even impertinent, as if one was emphatically to say of a man that he had a head, legs, arms, or any other members implied by the very name of man, and of whose having them no one could doubt ; but as they conceive it is prophaning the sacred Majesty of the name of God, to associate it with human attributes

attributes or conceptions, and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, a substantive singularly and for ever above the company of an adjective.

As to their gross notions of a sensual Paradise, the stress they lay upon their ablutions, and their other rites and ceremonies; it can hardly be thought, that so great a genius as Mahomet must have been, was not himself sensible of the absurdity of his imposture in those points, but knowing as he did the reach and temper of his countrymen, he most probably adapted his religion to their swallow, and might never have passed it at all, if he had not so let it down to the level of their apprehension, and the coarseness of their palate. But as the particulars of it have been so fully described by numbers of authors, it became superfluous for me to enter into a further discussion of it, than might just serve to shew more expressly the state of it in India, so far as it fell under my observation there, or in my way to get the best accounts of it.

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Of

Of the GENTOO RELIGION.

BALDÆUS, and many others, having already given to the public such full accounts of the Gentoo mythology, have left me little or nothing to add to them. It is however true, that though the bottom of that religion is every where nearly the same, yet in various parts of that extensive country called Indostan, there are such various modes of opinions and practice built upon it, as would require many volumes to specify the differences, I shall then only mention those particulars of it that struck me the most, in which some will perhaps appear either not to have been touched upon, or but transiently by others, as all objects do not affect alike, or are seen by all in all or in the same points of aspect.

AND first nothing appeared more paradoxical to me, than the violent tenaciousness of the Gentoos in their religion and customs, and yet at the same time their perfect acquiescence, humanity, and toleration of others that differ from them in those points that are so sacred to them.

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THEIR obstinacy, however, may be accounted for physically, from that weak flimzy texture of their bodies chiefly, and especially of the Bramins, and Banyans, raised upon rice, vegetables, and water, which joined to the relaxation from the heat of the climate, softens and effeminates them so, that they are not capable of a strong, and manly enough of exertion of their reason to shake off the yoke of a prejudice once thoroughly imbibed. This constitutional indolence, or *vis inertiae*, running equally through the temporal and spiritual notions of the Asiatics in general, may also be one of the causes of their abject passive resignation to slavery, and submission to that despotism which reigns over all the East.

As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos are so singularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to that their fundamental tenet of it, of which the purport is ; that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the universe. That all prayers put up to him from man, are all equally acceptable and sanctified to him, by the sincerity of the intention. That the true universal religion is no other than the

religion of the HEART; that the various outward forms of it are only accessaries indifferent in themselves, and merely accidents of time, place, education or birth, and that therefore all change of religion is at best but a dangerous and needless experiment, since, according to them, every honest man is sure to be saved in his own. Upon this principle, instead of persecuting and burning others for not being of it, or “of compelling them to enter,” they will absolutely admit of no proselytes to theirs, and though whole nations have adopted their principal tenets, as the vulgar of the Chineze for example, those of the transmigration of souls, and their idol-worship imported into that country by Fohi, who was in all probably no other than a roving Gioghi; they neither admit of a community, or hold any correspondence with them, and would as soon set down to eat, or intermarry with Christians and Moors, as with their fellow-religionists in China. When any of their religion too renounce it, even in the countries where they are masters, they charitably suppose it was through a conscientious persuasion, and never persecute them in any manner, unless by cutting off all communion with them, and expelling

selling them irrevocably out of the cast or tribe in which they were born. This they think abundant punishment, and for any thing else content themselves with only pitying them; and many of such were, in truth, literally speaking, objects of pity, being of the poorer sort, who in times of famine, were won over by the Romish priests, who for that purpose watched and relieved their necessities on condition of their conversion. Nor was it always in those times, but often wherever they could discover objects with whose indigence they could work, that they succeeded by these mercenary means. And this is so true, as for those proselytes to be proverbially known in India, by the appellation of *Christianos de Arroz*, or Rice-christians; which is a further confirmation of what has been before said, on the head of those so much celebrated conversions.

BUT nothing more strongly exemplifies the tolerating spirit of the Gentoos, than their conduct with respect to those who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of that species in general. Their superstitious veneration for these animals is too well known to insist

on here, but by all the discourse I have had with Bramins on that head, it appeared very clearly to me, that the spirit of that law of theirs, which forbids the slaughter of them, is chiefly gratitude ; from their arguing against the cruelty of such a retribution, as killing a creature so serviceable to mankind, both in agriculture, and in furnishing so innocent and by them esteemed a diet, as milk, butter, and cheese, relatively to which last articles they always mention that species in the feminine gender. The Lawgiver, probably for a greater enforcement, added the fabulous fiction of the Cow Camdoga, which, however, has had such an effect, that the Gentoos in general annex a sanctity to every thing that comes from that animal. They purify themselves with its urine, they burn its excrements into a greyish powder, with which they sprinkle their fore-heads, breasts and bellies ; they also, when the dung is recent, make a compost of it, with which they smear their houses, pavements, and sides of them in the style of a lustration. In short, so excessive is their veneration for that animal, that there could hardly a Gentoo be found, that if under a forced option to kill father, mother, or children, or a Cow, would not,
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with scarce a hesitation, but prefer sacrificing any or all of the former. And yet with all this religious horror for the slaying these creatures, they have no sort of aversion or ill-will to those who do. They scruple neither conversation, nor even friendship with those who use them for their food ; and this purely from their enlarged notions and allowance for the difference of religions. In some countries indeed, especially on the Mallabar coast, immediately under the domination of Gentoos, they do not suffer the openly killing of cows, tho' they will wink hard not to see it. And even this so moderate restriction is not warranted by the tenor of their religion, at least to judge of it by the following story.

ECBAR-SHAW, one of the great Moguls, who was great-grandfather to Aurengzeb, and remarkable for that indifference to all religions, for which I have before accounted on the principles of Deism, had, it seems, a favorite Bramin, to whom he hardly refused any thing he could ask. This Bramin then imagining he could not make a more meritorious use of his influence with the Mogul, than to solicit a royal edict, forbidding the slaughter of cows in

the province wherein he was born, requested and obtained such an one. A few days after, the Mogul was surpris'd at the Bramin appearing before him with a sorrowful petitioning face, and entreating him to revoke the edict which had been so graciously granted to his solicitations. Ecbar-shaw gratified him in this second request, but was curious in course to know the cause of this change of mind. The Bramin satisfied him by imputing it to a dream, in matter of which the superstition of the Orientalists is too well known to need a commentary here. The dream then he alledged was, that in his sleep, he had been beset by a number of those animals, furiously goring and butting at him ; when on his expostulating with them on such an ungrateful return for his care of the preservation of their species, one of the herd, speaking for the rest, said as follows ;

“ It is for that very reason of thy mistaken
“ zeal, that we thus persecute and shall for
“ ever persecute thee : thou knowest, that at
“ our dissolution we migrate into more noble
“ forms, and though thy religion forbids the
“ forwarding of that end, it does not forbid
“ thy suffering others to procure us that ad-
“ vantage

“vantage which is now by thy means re-
“tarded.”

It is not however to this horned species alone that this principle of tendernefs is confined. Their belief of the Metempsychosis makes them extend it to every animated creature, none being fo minute, or of fo low a clafs, but that they think it may be the receptacle of a human foul, confequently of that of their parents, relations or friends. Thence it is, that that difference of fize which mechanically, one may fay, affects the eye with contempt or regard, and leffens or augments compaffion towards an animal in the act of destroying it, has no fuch effect on them. They cannot without horror think of difpoffeffing by violence any being of that precious gift of God, life, and do not lefs refpect it in the flea that bites them than in the elephant. But this is only to be underftood of the Bramins, Banyans, and fome other of their stricter tribes, in whom this averfion to blood-fhed does not fuppose a great ftomach to fighting, nor indeed do they value themfelves upon courage, and yet like the Quakers, they know perfectly well how to efteem it in thofe who have it. That
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a country too so tempting to the conquest of it from its natural treasures and deliciousness, might not want for military defenders, which could not be expected from out of those peaceable tribes, the province of war was, according to the Gentoo system of religion, left to other divisions of casts, especially the Ketterees, out of which their Rajahs, Kings, Chiefs, and Generals are taken, whose hereditary profession is that of arms. The Rashpoots and others are in the like manner warriors born. Such then being the men of action and rule amongst the Gentoos by the constitution of their religion, it is the less wonder that they run into those injustices and violences which generally accompany the sword. This also solves that seeming paradox, of a religion breathing nothing but humanity, mildness and universal charity, having produced no better a government; and is one more proof, that no consideration, human or divine, is sufficient to soften the ferocity, or moderate the oppressions of any power that is purely a military one.

THERE is also another point in their religion, which appears as unaccountable as it is singular. Tenacious as they are of it, they are

are yet liable to lose irrecoverably their right of communion, not only for voluntary breaches or derogations from it, but for even involuntary ones, or for such as one would imagine extream force or necessity might justify. Certain it is, however, that numbers of them, though in other respects cowardly and afraid of death, would however sooner incur it than violate any of those fundamental points, on which depends their right of communion, such as for example killing a cow, or tasting of beef, drinking or eating but out of the same vessel with those of another religion, which is a defilement never to be repaired, and many others too tedious to enumerate. They will even, on such occasions, impose on themselves martyrdom, under no circumstance of violence, but of an accidental necessity, rather than forfeit what they call their cast. As for example, when Llofdas Vittuldas, a considerable Banyan merchant before-mentioned, page 161, was on his passage from Bombay to Surat in an English ship, he having made a provision of water, in vessels of his own under his own seal, such as might serve for that short run, being usually of no more than two or three days, it happened, through retardment by calms and contrary

trary winds, the same was expended, and he reduced to a condition of perishing with thirst, though there was plenty of water on board. But that being prophane as to him, no entreaties could prevail on him to break his law, though his life was in such imminent danger, and he felt all the torments so well known to be in thirst, and he would actually have sunk under it, if a favorable breeze springing up, had not brought him to Gundavee, just near Surat, but so faint as to have his soul, as they say, between his lips.

A N D this delicacy of religion does not only subsist amongst the Gentoos, in respect to those of other religions, but between the different degrees and denominations of tribes of their own religion, who never eat, or intermarry with one another under the same penalty. In some parts too this nicety extends even to civil distinctions; as on the coast of Mallabar, where it is made capital for a Nayr, or noble of that country, to approach so near an inferior cast, as to receive a wound that should draw blood from him. It is not many years since, that near Penany, the residence of the Samorine of Calicut, an extraordinary accident

cident of this nature happened: A Nayar happened to have a sort of struggle with a Thyvee, or land-tiller, when, as in half jest, half earnest, they grappled each other, the Thyvee's sickle by chance wounded the Nayar, who no sooner saw his own blood, than he loosened his hold, and entreated the Thyvee to make off as soon as possible, and to keep the accident a secret for both their sakes. It happening however to take air, the Nayars assembled upon it, and one of the elders getting up and exposing the case, they instantly fell on the poor Nayar, and hacking him to death with their sabres, served him as it is said of the porpoises, when one of their species is wounded, whom the rest, whilst he is bleeding, instantly tear to pieces: after which, and groaning over him, they proceeded, by way of revenge for this sacrifice, to which they had been thus compelled by their law, to the exterminating the whole tribe of the Thyvees, in the village of which the author of the mischief was inhabitant. Yet even in this they shewed, that in the midst of that wild superstition of theirs, they could remember equity, as they were well informed how the thing had passed, care had been taken to pre-advise the Thyvees of what
was

was intended, that they might timely save themselves, till the day particularly set for the massacre was over, after which it is not lawful for them to revive the procedure, so that when the storm was over, they might without danger return to their habitations. But if a woman in that country lies with one of an inferior cast, they do not indeed put her to death, but as being *ipso facto* degraded, she is seized and sold for a slave.

As to the impracticability of a re-admission into the Gentoo-cast, when once whether wilfully or involuntarily forfeited, I never heard of an exception being allowed, except the following story may pass for one, which strongly but justly characterizes the rigorousness of the Gentoos on that head.

ONE of them, a man of substance, residing on the banks of the Ganges, had a wife of great beauty, with whom he lived happy in the utmost reciprocal affection. One morning early, as she went, in the simplicity of their manner of life, to fill a water-veffel at the river, a Mogul nobleman chancing to pass by, was so struck with her at the first sight, that

that, yielding to the impetuosity of his passion, he spurred up his horse to her, seized her, and laying her a-cross his saddle-box, rode off with her, regardless of her cries, and overpowering her struggles. Whether she was alone or accompanied, no one it seems could inform her unfortunate spouse, who was the ravisher, that he might have implored justice against a violence, certainly not tolerated under the Mogul government; or of what road he had taken, that by his perquisitions he might find her out and reclaim her. In this dilemma, life being grown odious to the inconsolable husband, he quitted his habitation, and turned wandering Gioghi, with a double intention of humoring his melancholic turn to solitude, and of searching the whole country for her. But whilst he was thus employed, the Mogul nobleman had accomplished his brutal purpose, and tho' at first very cautious of allowing her the least liberty, for fear of a discovery, on having two children by her, grew relaxed in that point, even more than the Mahometans commonly are, thinking perhaps to gain her heart by that indulgence, customary amongst the Gentooes. After two years then, her husband now a Gioghi, came by chance to a garden-door,
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at which she was standing, and begged alms of her. It is not said whether he knew her or not, but at the first sight, and sound of his voice, she knew him, tho' in a plight so fit to disguise him. Then it was, that in a rapture of joy she welcomed him, and related to him all her adventures, and the innocence of her heart in all she had suffered, concluding with her detestation of her present condition, and an offer of immediately making her escape, and returning to his bosom. To this the Gentoo made no other answer or objection, but to represent to her the inviolable rule of their religion in such a case, which did not admit of his receiving her again as his wife, or having any communication whatever with her. However, after joining in the bewailment of the cruelty of their separation, and of the law that prohibited that re-union, for which they both ardently sighed, and after abundance of consultation, about what measures could be taken, it was agreed between them, that the husband should incessantly repair to the great temple of Jaggernaut, near the sea side, in the kingdom of Orixá, near the mouth of the Ganges, there to consult the high priest and his chief assistants, whether any thing could be

be

be done to restore her at least to her religion. Accordingly he went, and returned to her with such a countenance as prepared her for the worst. He then told her, that he came to bid her an eternal adieu, for that the taking off the excommunication she had however innocently incurred, could not be effectuated but on such conditions, as he could neither expect, or advise her to comply with. They were these; that she should destroy the children she had by her ravisher, so as to leave no living monuments of her pollution by his prophane embraces, then fly with her husband to the temple of Jaggernaut, and there have melted lead poured down her throat, by which means only she might be admitted to die in her cast if she could not live in it. The wife on hearing these terms accepted them, hard as they were, notwithstanding all the tenderest dissuasions on the man's part. Urged then by the manifold incentives of zeal for her religion, love for her husband, and a hatred for her ravisher, that made her see in those children of hers nothing but his part in them, all conspiring to steel her heart against the motions of nature, she perpetrated the first part of the injunction, and found means to escape undiscovered

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vered with her husband, who durst not even renew with her the privilege of one, as her person still remained polluted, and unapproachable by him under the penalty of a mortal sin, and of falling into the same predicament in which she stood. Arrived at the temple, she presented herself with the utmost constancy and intrepidity to the priests, of whom she demanded the fulfilment of the rest of her sentence. After a sequestration of a few days, and other preparatory ceremonies, she was led to the appointed place of execution in the area before the temple, where, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, she appeared without the least symptom of fear at the dreadful solemnity and apparatus of the fire, and instruments of her suffering. After a short prayer she was blind-folded, and extended on the ground, with her mouth open ready to receive her death in the melted lead. Instead of which, some cold water prepared for that purpose was poured into it, and she was bid to get up, and then assured, that the sincerity of her intention having been thus proved, was accepted by the Deity, and that she was thenceforward at liberty to live with her husband

band as before, being now re-instated in all her rights divine and social.

BUT whether this story be true or false, it is certain, that it contains nothing but what the law of the Gentoos renders probable, and as certain, that that article of it annexing an expulsion from their communion to any violation of the conjugal faith, more especially with those of another religion, or with any of an inferior tribe (for it seems the sin, though still a mortal one, is not so great if committed with those of their own cast) keeps an effectual check on the wives, and makes it so hard for the Europeans for example to avail themselves of that liberty they see the Gentoo women enjoy. I know that some indeed have boasted of their successes in gallantry amongst them, but I have strong reasons to think they are much rarer than has been said, or at least were chiefly amongst the very lowest tribes, who are not so scrupulous, and with whom money might perhaps prevail. In short, the wives of the principal Gentoos, with all their apparent freedom of shewing themselves, are, by their never going abroad unless accompanied, and by their superstition, as effectually defended from the

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approaches

approaches of strangers, as those of the Moors are by their walls, bars, lettice-windows, and impenetrable veils.

ANOTHER reason too for their prodigious affection and veneration for their husbands, is their early marriage. A father is reckoned inhuman and careless of his childrens happiness, if he does not make the earliest provision for having them suitably matched. They marry them then at the age of three, four, or five years, sometimes younger, and often run into ruinous expences in the celebration of that ceremony. After which the parties, in the tenderness of that ductile age, are brought up until that of consummation, in the constant inculcation to them of mutual dearnefs, as a sacred point of religion. And the women especially retain such strong impressions of this doctrine, that notwithstanding the influence of a climate far from favorable to chastity, instances of infidelity are at least as rare amongst them, as in any people of the world besides. Thence too the readiness of numbers of them to embrace that cruel practice of burning themselves with their husbands, or in due season after his death. Some of them living under govern-
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ments where that superstition was not suffered, have voluntarily gone to Gentoo countries barely to enjoy the liberty of that act. Others, after bringing up their young children to a state of maturity, which, it seems, is an allowable reason of dispensation with them, and many years, after the death of their husbands, have, as if they had endured life only till that duty to their children was fulfilled, paid that one to their deceased husbands, of seeking to rejoin them, by burning themselves with the usual ceremony. Some indeed, who had not the courage either to undergo that fate, or the patience to brook the indignities and flights that fall upon those who decline it, and which form a kind of compulsion to it, though they call it matter of choice, such as cutting off their hair, which to them is the most intolerable of all pains, servile offices, and wearing a particular colored garment, of a dingy red, will, especially if they meet with encouragement, turn Christians, or Moors. It must not however be understood, that this practice of voluntary burning is very general. Many of the tribes, especially of the lower ones, are totally exempted from it, and it is only with respect to the more considerable personages that it is ever
X 3 used,

used, and even amongst them, the instances begin to be much rarer, and that point to be less insisted on.

THE examples also of that cool philosophical suicide, for which the Indians are by the antients so much celebrated, as being matter even of common custom among them, are grown extremely rare. I could not, whilst I was in India, hear of one that had resorted to that extremity, except a merchant of Surat, who, many years before my time, had ordered himself to be carried, fastned on a bed, the bottom of whose corner posts were provided with a weight to sink it, into the river Tappi on men's shoulders, who had their cue to let him gently down into the stream, as soon as he had finished his own funeral harangue to a croud of people, amongst whom were his sons and relations, of which he acquitted himself with great composure and even eloquence. He had however no motive for this spontaneous departure out of life, but that sort of philosophy once so prevalent in those parts, and for which the Gymnosophist Calanus made himself be so much admired by Alexander and his whole army.

THESE

THESE Gymnosophists were undoubtedly not Bramins, as has been erroneously advanced by many authors, but of that sect of men now called Gioghys, which, like other human institutions, have been at length vitiated by abuses, hypocrisy, and the admission of corrupt members. Their original regulation turns upon a renunciation of the world, a hermitical or itinerant life, violent ascetics, and that stark-nakedness from whence they derived their Greek name. At present, indeed, when they occasionally travel into Christian or Moorish jurisdictions, they dispense with this last precept, and wear, out of deference to their customs, just a scant rag that scarce covers their parts, to which however their own opinions annex no idea of shame or turpitude. And as to the self-martyrizing postures, and other cruelties they impose on themselves, they do not mean by them to insinuate, that any torments of the creature can be acceptable to its Creator, but purely for the sake of the merit they apprehend in the intenseness and constancy of their spiritual contemplation of the Deity; being such as enables them to master their attention so far, as to call it off from the feelings that pain the most their bodies, and

to fix it unremoveably on the only idea they think can worthily fill their minds. It is also in that sense and character of contemplatists, absorbed in that single object, that they prove what is perhaps harder to attain to, their insensibility to pleasure. Thus some of them will sit on a pedestal, by the side of the tanks or ponds where the Gentoo women perform their ablutions, whom they suffer to salute with the utmost reverence and simplicity, the living Priapus they exhibit for that purpose, whilst their eyes roll frightfully in their heads, and no symptom or gesture of theirs betrays the least indication of human feeling, sensual emotion, or attention to the sight or touch of these females, who imagine there is great prolific virtue in this strange act of adoration. These Gioghys also generally have that part bored, with a smooth foldered ring passed through it, as an attestation of the impracticability for them of incontinence. But though I am well persuaded, that vanity and spiritual pride enter for a great deal into all these their self-tortures, austerities and self-denials, yet it is hard to think that all of them are equally suspectable. There is also reason to believe, that some of that sect have made very valuable

ble discoveries, especially in Botany, from the opportunities of their roving life, thro' wilds, forrests, and amongst the mountains where they oftenest shelter, being absolutely forbid to lie in houses, or under any built cover, unless occasionally the open porches of their pagodas. The Gentoos however, to whom the abuses of this profession are perfectly known, and to whom their impostures are grown stale enough to put them on their guard, retain yet the highest veneration and awe towards such of them as they have reason to think are sincere in the exercise of it. They pretend even to produce, in their excuse for this branch of their bigotry, miracles, and these so recent ones, as to be within the memory of man. To this purpose they relate an event, of which they will have it there are now living witnesses, and which may serve at least to expose their credulity, tho' one cannot help at the same time doing justice to their talent of invention. One of these Gioghys, as the story goes, came to a large inland town, in Ashmeer, and going directly to the governor of it, a Gento, presented to him a bill of exchange, drawn payable to the bearer by the god Ram, for 2000 rupees, or about 250l. sterling, at which

which the Governor protested with a laugh at him as an impostor. Upon this he went round the town, and was every where received with the same kind of scoff, except by a rich oilman, who very devoutly accepted it, and paid the amount. Upon which, returning him a blessing in behalf of the God, whose draught he had thus honored, the Gioghi left him and the town, but not without fulminating as he passed the gates, a curse of leprosy to continue twelve years upon all the inhabitants except the oilman and his family, which instantly took effect. And so popularly was this story propagated, that it was brought to Bombay some years ago by a Banyan, who declared, that he had himself seen a son of the deputy, or assistant-governor of the town, who was a leper from that malediction, but the symptoms of whose distemper were greatly mitigated by his being then in the twelfth or expiring year of the term assigned. But the Gentoos are not content with occasional fiction or forgery of miracles from time to time, but insist on the existence of a constant and standing one in their trials by ordeals, of melted lead or boiling oil, such as they are now actually in use on the Mallabar-coast. So much however is
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certain truth, that these ordeals are not in the least managed by any priestcraft, unless it could be supposed combined with the whole governing laity, against the interest of justice, and their own, having been for ages practised as the criterions of innocence, through the various provinces on that coast. I never saw one of these trials myself, but believe that numbers of eye-witnesses to them are now in England, who can better ascertain the nature and manner of them than I dare pretend to do. It has however been assured to me, that several of the English chiefs of settlements on that coast, have used their utmost care and precaution to detect whatever fraud might be in this method of trial; that they have caused the party that was to undergo it, not only to be locked up in their own guard-room, or prison, but seen the hand that was to be plunged into the boiling lead or oil, bound up with a handkerchief closely tied round the wrist, and sealed with their own seals, which remained unbroke till the instant of the public ceremony of it. Notwithstanding all which precaution, and every other that the most determined incredulity and suspicion of fraud could devise, they could never discover that there was any
trick

trick or juggle in it ; to say nothing of the improbability of so many princes of different and discordant dominions, for so many ages, joining in a cheat of no sort of use but to screen obnoxious criminals, and to baffle that justice, by which alone any government can subsist. Some unable to deny the fact itself, have indeed endeavored to account naturally for it, by averring, that neither water, oil, or lead, when boiling, can affect a hand dipped into it, so as to burn it. If this were true, the whole of this pretended miracle of the Gentooes would fall at once to the ground, and the miracle would be that it could ever pass for one. An English lady however could have contradicted this from her own experience. For at Tellicherry, where she then resided, and where scandal had not entirely respected her, happening to be present at one of these ordeal-trials, where an Indian culprit drew his hand unharmed out of a cauldron of melted lead, she said, she was sure it was all a jest, and that it could not burn ; but on putting her finger in to prove it, screamed out with the pain. “ That trial (said the then Governor nor Adams humorously) I suppose, madam, “ was for your virtue.”

THE ceremony is however performed with great solemnity. The party to be tried, on appeal to it for his innocence, whether on suspicion of murder, theft, conjugal infidelity in the women, in short of any crime, or even in civil cases, on denying a debt, is brought in public, to the side of the fire, on which is set a cauldron or ladle full of boiling water or oil, but most commonly lead; the prince or magistrates of the country assisting. His hand is previously clean washed, and an ola, or leaf of the wild brab-tree, with the matter of the accusation written on it, and girt round his waist, when, on a solemn invocation of the Deity by a Bramin, the culprit plunges his hand in, scoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt, is absolved, otherwise he receives the punishment prescribed by the laws for the crime on which the accusation lay. And so sacred and firmly believed in general on that coast is this method of purgation, that I have been assured, that even some of the Indian Christians and Moors have voluntarily submitted their cause to its decision on their own personal experiment.

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As the princes then of those countries, where this custom stands at this day in full force, use no sort of reserve, or refuse any examination that might be required, certain it is, that on the least intimation from any person of authority here, to any of the English gentlemen on that coast, such an enquiry would be very readily set on foot, as would satisfactorily liquidate what truth or falsehood there is in this practice; and surely even the Royal Society has vouchsafed to take cognizance of points of not superior importance or curiosity to this one. And the issue must be, since the fact is incontestably true, either to discover a natural method of resisting fire, far more subtle than what is known to our European jugglers; or to prove, that Divine Providence, when solemnly appealed to, does not disdain its immediate interposition in favour of innocence, an act which, though surely not unworthy of the goodness of God, the Romish priests in those parts, not denying the supernaturalness of the effect produced, attribute to the power and craft of the Devil, with what propriety let any one judge.

THE distinction of the Gentoos into their tribes or casts, forms another considerable object of their religion, which has its conveniences and inconveniences. Priests, warriors, merchants, husbandmen, and in short all the divisions of mechanics and artificers known amongst them, are each classed in their respective tribes, and though all under the bond of the same religion, neither eat, drink, or intermarry with one another, so that a goldsmith for example, cannot marry his child to a druggist's. All must be born in the profession they exercise. No transition or mixture is allowed. By which contractedness of disposition great injustice is often done to talents and genius, to which no respect is had, or allowance made for their infinite diversity. Thus some are confined to make an indifferent figure in one sphere or way of life, who would have shined in another. Yet such however justly supposable instances excepted, this distribution has in general the advantage of order on its side, and the power of the prejudice of education in favor of custom, diminishes and even annihilates the sense of the injury thereby done to a few. Most of the tribes too have
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each, under every government, a particular person who is reckoned the chief of it, and is in some measure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of it, which also makes it the easier to estimate, number, or assemble them respectively on any necessary occasion. But though one would imagine that most professions, and manual arts especially, thus for ages hereditarily transmitted, would proceed from father to son, to the utmost perfection, it does not appear that this consequence follows in effect. For by all tradition and accounts, they stick pretty near at the same point they were at many ages ago, whether emulation has been rather deadened than excited by this confinement to the vocation of birth, or whether, what is the most likely, the people of those soft climates want that solidity, application and curiosity, necessary to carry them beyond a certain pitch, to say nothing of the discouragement for ever existing under despotic government, from the precariousness of property.

THE Bramins or Butths, as they are often called from the idols which all have that name, if these, however, did not take it from them,
vindicate

vindicate the pre-eminence of rank and esteem from their appropriate functions in divine worship. There are some of them, however, often employed in purely civil matters, without derogation to their character. They have a learned language peculiar to themselves called the Hanferit, in which the Vedham, Shaster, and other of the books of their law are written. As to those who stick purely to the duties of their office, the simplicity of their lives answers to that of their diet, into which they admit of no animal food, and which one would think had its influence on their minds as well as bodies, being generally free from the violent passions and vices, in which the cold one of avarice is certainly not included, for in this, those of them, at least, who enter into temporal affairs, vye with any other condition of men. With respect to their constitution they are generally healthy, though not strong bodied. Their senses of smell and taste are exquisite, which they doubtless owe to their abstinence from flesh. Thus flowers produce to them a much stronger odor than the same sort would to Europeans, and they are as nice in the taste of different waters, as these are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is also ob-

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served, that the wounds of those used to a vegetable diet, are much sooner and easier cured than those of such as eat flesh, from the greater grossness of humors bred in these last by that food. The Bramins are likewise said to possess many valuable secrets in natural philosophy, acquired by their studious and contemplative turn, and which if not brought to Europe, is not so much owing to any uncommunicativeness of theirs, as to the want of curiosity and inquisitiveness in the Europeans, who seldom travel to those parts in search of knowledge, and are too much engrossed by their pursuits of fortune, to give sufficient attention, or employ sufficient means to come at such discoveries.

UPON the whole, whoever will combine all the absurdities of their mythology, their incarnations of Vistnow, the exploits of the ape Singa, the wars of their god Ram, the virtues of their cow Camdoga, and the rest of their ridiculous fables, with that exquisite morality, practical and speculative, that may be collected from what they collaterally teach, must own, that the human mind is capable of uniting in it the greatest seeming incompatibilities.

YET

YET it must be owned, that their religion, all gross as it is, does not exclude the idea amongst them of the God of the Universe, as it evidently turns upon deities merely local, and proper to India, which even their own doctrine subordinates to a certain superior and more extensive power. For as to Brama, he is never understood by them, but as the supreme God, the *Jupiter Indiges* of specifically their country.

THAT their religion is one of the antientest in the world there are many reasons to think. Nothing of so remote an original being to be less suspected of borrowing from others, especially in a people who have ever made it a sacred point to follow their own peculiar institutions, without deigning to admit of any foreign admixture. It is then highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which so particularly distinguished Pythagoras, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worship, and opinion, which from certain resemblances might be eveſtigated from the ſame ſpring-head. Thus, amongst many other conjectural inſtances, may be quoted the image of the Paphian Venus, for

the form of which Tacitus could not account *, not being in any thing resembling the human one, but orbicularly rising from a broad basis, and in the nature of a race-goal, tapering to a narrow convex a-top; which is exactly the figure of the idol in India, consecrated to such an office as that heathen deity was supposed to preside over, and to which, on the borders especially of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of superficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their husbands. At the first view indeed one would imagine that this Indian effigy was, especially from this application of it, meant for a kind of representation of a Phallus, or Ithyphallus, but besides that, the form is too imperfect and remote an imitation; besides that, the Indians make no scruple of expressing clearly the parts of generation in both sexes, joined together, in an image of them, they call Quivclinga, which they wear about their

* Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exsurgens. Et ratio in obscuro.

TACIT. Hist. Lib. II.

Albæ Pyramidi haud dissimilem dixeris.

Max. Syrius.

persons,

persons, or hang about their childrens necks, as an amulet; besides also, that they have pagodas appropriately dedicated to Priapus, under the name of Gopalsami; this pyramidal stone may be plainly traced to its original; that idol, which in the same but a larger form is worshipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, which, according to all accounts, and to Captain Hamilton's especially, is no other than a pyramidal black stone, fabled to have fallen from Heaven, or at least to have miraculously presented itself on that place, where stands his temple before-mentioned. Now, according to the best information I could obtain from the Gentoos, this stone, of which all the images in that form in India are esteemed but copies, is meant for the power presiding over universal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the Sun acting under subordination to it; and to whom the following formulary or prayer is addressed, and often repeated in a day by the Bramins especially, with their eyes towards the Sun. “ *Thou Power! which il-*
“ *luminates that resplendent Orb, deign also to*
“ *illuminate my mind, so as that I may thereby*
“ *be directed to walk in the way the most pleasing*

“ to thee.” Now considering the dignity attached in the idea of the Gentoos to the generative power, is it no derogation to the supremacy attributed to Jaggernaut, manifested by their making his temple and image the head place of their worship, to infer that he is their God Bramin under that title, just as Jupiter had several names, according to his various functions, and equivalent to the Mythras or Venus Urania of the Persians, or simply the Venus of the Heathens. That the Deity, however represented by specifically that image and under that name, was held to preside over the genial fire, is plainly proved, by the ceremonies with which at a certain time of the year they perform their worship to it, especially on the banks of the Ganges. For the Gentoo inhabitants there form domestic idols after that of Jaggernaut, to which they give its name, and which are niched in a conveyance that is to serve them for a triumphal car, all together decorated with gilding and tinsel. Formerly it used to be so with jewels and expensive finery, according to the circumstances of the owner, but of late they have much abated on that point. This machine is kept for some days in the best apartment of their house, during

during which time it is matter of devotion with them to exhibit all the obscenest postures, and to act all manner of lasciviousness in sight, as it were, of the idol, and as the most acceptable mode of worship to that deity it represents. After which they carry it in its gilded car processionally to the Ganges, and throw all in together, as an acknowledgment to that river of its congenial fertilization with that of the Sun. Their reason too for relaxing in their expence on this head was, their finding that the Christians and Moors, watching the places where they were committed to the stream, made a practice of diving for the jewels or valuables with which they used to be adorned, and by this means gained what to the Gentoos seemed a sacrilegious booty at their expence.

As to the cause of the Gentoos predilection of this pyramidal form, it seems lost in the remotest antiquity. But if I might be allowed however to hazard a conjecture, it should be, that it was originally suggested to them by that pyramidal aspiration of flame, which is one of the most conspicuous properties of fire.

BUT if the above is not sufficient to establish the conjecture of the Paphian effigy of Venus, being originally derivable from the form of this Indian deity, perhaps the following account may serve at least to corroborate it, and into which I enter purely, as I think it may throw some illustration on a dark point of antiquity, which has perplexed so many authors, and relatively to which some of the antients will probably appear to have been unjustly condemned.

THE learned and laborious Dr. Hyde has particularly taken Herodotus to task for saying, that * Venus was the Persian Mythras, Myhir, or in plainer English the Sun: but in this point not a little may be said to justify and reconcile him to historical truth.

As to the objection of the nominal difference of sexes, in Mithras and Venus, that is

* Cur autem Herodotus addit eam (sc. Venerem Uranam) Persis Mythram plane nescio: nam cum eo nomine semper significatur SOL, quamnam erroris ansam arripuerit nescio. HYDE. De Rel. Vet. Pers. Page 99.

solved by the plain matter of fact of the Parsees not admitting any such distinction of genders, in those spiritual beings, which they esteemed as provincial super-intendants, or agents, and which the Heathens dignified by the title of Gods.

THAT the Sun then and Venus were, by the Persians, considered as one and the same divinity appointed to preside over universal generation, may be inferred without much violence from many points of fact.

MYTHRAS the Sun, or Myhir, in the primitive Persian language, signified LOVE, and the Sun being deemed the genial inspirer of it, has that quality evidently in common with the Venus of the Heathens.

VENUS was imaged in that conic form, mentioned both by Tacitus, in his relation of the first Vespasian's visit to her temple in Paphos, and by Tyrius Maximus.

MYTHRAS, or the Sun, was also precisely imaged in the same form, that is to say, of
a conic

a conic stone, in Cœlo-Syria, and amongst the * Emissenians, and from its shape took the name of the Round-God, or Agli-Baal, whence the emperor Heliogabalus, who had been a priest in the temple of it, derived his appellation, and in the sense of this Mythras being the same as Venus, he was doubtless no improper minister of that dissolute deity.

FROM this conformity then of offices, attributes and form, it is no wonder that Mythras and Venus, called by the Assyrians Mylitta, or Maledta, the parent of all things, might be deemed one and the same presiding Power, and as such reported by Herodotus. It is also in respect to the above conformity, that his cotemporary Artaxerxes Mnemon, did not make quite so violent or strange an innovation, as Dr. Hyde seems to imagine it, in introducing the statue of Venus in an human form, being then nothing more than another mode of representing Mythras, or Myhir, of whom the adoration, never however more

* Solem sub forma faxi ab imo rotundi et conici apud Emissenos cultum fuisse quod et a cœlo delapsum fuisse Jactabant Testatur Herodiannus.

HYDE, p. 115.

than

than reverential, and such as was used towards their great men, was before so thoroughly established. This construction too if received, tho' offered only as a conjecture for want of a better one, would absolve Justin, and reconcile the difference between him and Plutarch, the former placing Aspasia, the concubine of Artaxerxes, at the head of the priestesses of the Sun, the latter of those of Venus. Both then, in this case, might be right.

THE resemblance, however, above set forth of the image of the Paphian Venus, and of the Persian Mythras, to that of Jaggernaut in India, is entirely submitted to the reader, for his judging of the degree of probability of their being imitations of the latter, but I cannot omit another corroborative circumstance of the progression from the East to the West, of that Indian symbol, pervading so great an extent of continent.

THIS pyramidal stone or image of Jaggernaut was said to have come miraculously from heaven. The same was pretended of the effigy of the sun, in the same form, amongst the Emyssenians. Nay even the Greeks, with
their

their usual fondness for the marvellous, a quality which is specifically the loadstone of lies, adopted a fiction of much the same, though rather of even a grosser nature. Anaxagoras, one of their not least considerable philosophers, imagined that the Sun itself was a large roundish red-hot stone, and according to Pliny the elder (book I. chap. 58.) foretold the very day on which a fragment of it would fall in that part of Thracia near the river Ægos, “ which (says that author very gravely) came “ to pass accordingly, and the stone, of the “ bigness of a common cart, and of an adust “ color, is *now* extant, and to this day to be “ seen there.” So credulous, and at the same time so imitative a creature is Man, that even his fictions are seldom purely original.

THAT these pyramidal and conic forms were, from the antientest times, the select ones of the Gentoos, for the most sacred of their images (for they have many others more approaching the human one) is certain; but whether they were imitated by other nations, whether the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt (the form of the last of which is at this time actually amongst the ornaments of our gardens
and

and viftos) were brought thither and improved on by the Egyptian Ofyris, together with many other articles ; fuch as the tranfmigration of fouls, the divifion of the week into feven days, under the influence of the feven planets, the names of fome of which are retained to this day in the Englifh ftyle or kalender, or the diftribution of the Zodiac into figns, the ufe of incenfe, all which points are ftrongly claimed by the Bramins of India ; it is hard, at this fo remote diftance of time, to decide on merely certain points of conformity, and as hard to think thofe points were all purely accidental.

BUT to avoid any fufpicion of my leaning to that common weak fide of travellers, finding a kind of fatisfaction to their vanity in over-rating the countries where they have been, as if themfelves were to come in for a fhare of their diftinction, I beg leave to remind the reader, that I have not exaggerated the wifdom and learning of the Bramins beyond what their general reputation will ftrictly bear me out, and efpecially that in which they ftood with the Perfians, who, as their neighbors, may be fupposed to have known them

them best. Towards which I need but select two quotations, and both furnished by Dr. Hyde, for which I shall perhaps be thought the more excusable, for that even their being in some measure foreign to his subject did not hinder him from introducing them.

THE first from Ammianus Marcellinus.—

“ That most wise prince Hyftaspes, the father
“ of Darius, who ventured to penetrate into
“ the interior of India, in a private character,
“ came at length to a shady recess embosomed
“ in woods, where the Bramins exercised
“ their sublime faculties in the tranquil cultivation of the sciences. There he learned
“ from them the abstrusest reasons of things.
“ They accounted to him for the motions of
“ this sublunary world, the planets, and the
“ whole starry host. They taught him the
“ purest forms of worship. And when he
“ had collected as much knowledge as he
“ could for the time, at his return he communicated as much of it to the magi, or
“ priests of Persia, as he thought proper.
“ Hence it plainly appears, that he drew the
rudiments

“ rudiments of his erudition from the Indian
“ fages *.”

THE second is from an oriental author.
“ Perfuya, head-physician to the king Nashir-
“ wan (who was cotemporary to the emperor
“ Justinian) brought for him a book, entitled,
“ The Wisdom of the Indians, or a dialogue
“ between Kalil and Dumnee †, or the
“ Crowned head and the Enquirer. This he
“ translated into Persian, and deserved by this
“ work eternal reputation amongst that people.
“ The king too looked on it as so great a merit,
“ that he ordered Boorzumgheer, his first
“ counsellor, to write the life of Perfuya from

* Hyftaspes reigned A. Mundi 3484, or 519 Years before our Saviour's time.

† THIS book is in the catalogue (page 19) appendixd by Mr. Frazer, to his history of Shah-Nadir, under the various titles of Ayar Danish, the criterion of wisdom, and a modern edition under that of Anhar Soheili, the flowers of Soheili, and of Kalil Dumnee. He observes too, that the king Nashirwan the Just, made it his guide, not only in affairs relating to government, but in private life also. Sultan Mahmud Ghazi put it into verse. (Frazer, app. page 19.) I never heard that this book was translated into Latin or into any European language. Every one too knows that the Indian Lockman, was generally believed to be the original of the Grecian Esop.
“ his

“ his infancy, to the age of which he then
“ was. And this was done.”

BUT even the Mahometans themselves pay a profound respect to the learning of the Bramins, and would not be so averse to the Gentoos as they seem but for that Polytheism of theirs, which makes them admit of such innumerable gods, especially in some parts of India, as for example, on the Mallabar-coast, as far as three hundred and thirty three millions ; though they consider this but as a consequence, in course of their departure from the unity of the deity, after which there appears to them no end, or knowing where to stop. And yet after all, if these gods of the Gentoos were to be candidly scanned and liquidated, it might fairly come out that they were considered even by them as no more than a kind of secondary beings, or local superintendants and ministers, subordinate to one supreme God, and thus would the whole legions of them ultimately center in unity. At least I can safely aver, that so it appeared to me from the answers of the Bramins, being far from contradictory to that interpretation, when I pressed them on that point.

Of

Of the RELIGION of the PARSEES.

IF I presume to add any thing, on a subject which seems already exhausted by the learned and judicious disquisitions of Dr. Hyde, on the religion of the antient Persians, or of the modern Parsees, it is most certainly not from any presumption in me of improving on that excellent author. On the contrary, perhaps the remarks which occurred to me, and were the result of my own personal conversation with some of those descendants of the antient Magi in Persia, now refugees in India, may serve to corroborate those of the points by him advanced, that seemed to me susceptible of a further illustration.

AND even in some respects where I may appear to somewhat differ from him, the prejudice most certainly ought to be in his favor, who studied the matter so much more methodically and deeply, as to deserve a preference to all the information I could obtain though on the spot. But then it was but by smatches from persons, whose broken English I could not always be so sure of understanding, as to depend upon

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my not having mistaken their sense, and less yet when interpreted by them at second hand, from some that could not speak our language at all. Besides, that such as fell in my way, in this pursuit of instruction, were none of them, themselves very profoundly versed in their religion, being either purely commercial characters, or such as knew little more of it but just the vulgar tradition, or the present practice and ritual part of it. And yet even their imperfect accounts, as they turned on a point of such high curiosity, as that religion is generally admitted to be, and open into such a wide field of reflection, appeared to be considerable enough for me, not to suppress in them any thing that might perhaps throw a further light on this subject.

FROM all the enquiries then I could make, it appeared to me, if not clearly, very probable, that there are two distinctions necessary to be made in this religion of the Parsees. The first, the pure one of Zoroaster, for so I shall call him, from the name being more generally familiar than his true one of Zaratoosht, from which the other was corruptly formed by the Greeks. The second and more modern one,
such

such as it is at present in practice amongst the Parsees of Persia and India, disfigured by various adulterations.

It was then under the reign of Hyftaspes, about five hundred years before the nativity of our Saviour, that Zoroaster flourished. The limits of my plan do not here allow me to enter into the particulars of his birth, education, or introduction of his doctrine; besides that enough authors have rendered that task superfluous. I shall only then mention their concurrent attestation of his having been profoundly versed in the mathematics and natural philosophy. Thence he probably drew those sublime notions about fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which are to this day retained by his sectaries.

It is very plain, however, that he found the homage to, and perhaps the adoration of that element, already established in that country, since there were Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire, known to be there long before his time. But that worship of it, whether religious or only gratefully reverential, or whatever it was, was accompanied with so

much idolatry or Sabaïsm, that enlightened by a sounder philosophy, he set himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two great cardinal points on which his religion entirely turns. The belief of one supream God, and of the Sun or element of fire being his first minister throughout all his works, as well as the symbol and eternal monitor of purity. The rest of his tenets were only subordinate to, or emanations from them.

As to God, the followers of Zoroaster, agreeably to his doctrine, are so penetrated with his immensity, and consequently omnipresence of power, that they esteem it a kind of impiety, or at least a sign of narrowness of conception to erect temples to him, as conveying an idea of locality or confinement of the deity between four walls that shocks and indignates them. Thence that celebrated saying of theirs, “that there can be no temple, worthy of the Majesty of God, except the whole universe, and the heart of an honest man.” But of all their opinions, that which they hold the most sacred, is, That God is the sole necessary self-existent Being from all eternity, supream and author of all Good. Thence their
thorough

thorough detestation of the schism of the Persian dualists, admitting the co-eternity and co-ordination of the two principles of Good and Evil, and of the blasphemous absurdities of manicheism, founded on that hypothesis of a ditheism.

THEIR manner of accounting for the appearances, and but the appearances of Evil, is as follows,

THEY say, that God the Arbiter and author of all Being, and all modes of Being, created a first matter or fluid, in which were essentially comprehended all the constitutives of those forms, into which it became under his pleasure infinitely modifiable, such as the Globe itself, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, &c. whose essence they thus pretend is at bottom all the same matter, fire *. That every thing is generated out of it, and ultimately resolvable into it ; its particles being what they imagine the minims of *all* existence. An opinion

* The Latin word *purus* is evidently derived from the Greek one *πυρ* fire : as *uro* to burn, probably comes from the Syriac one *ur* fire.

which by the way was also that of some of the Grecian philosophers. In this infinitely subtile celestial fluid the parent-substance, or crude matter of all future forms, they say, there existed no distinction of any, till the separation ordained by God took place, by a regulated diversified coagulation of the grosser parts contained in it. In this consisted that division of essentially the same matter at bottom into spirit, and matter or that which is commonly understood by matter in contra-distinction to spirit; or into light, and into the interceptor of light, opaqueness. Between these, through the principle of activity imprinted on that first matter, or elemental fluid of fire by the immediate hand of God, there results a perpetual struggle and conflict. On the side of fire, to rarefy and reduce all things into their original minuteness and fluidity; on the side of hardened matter or opaqueness, a resistance to the returning into it; to which principle they attribute the cohesion of bodies, and their mechanically passive aversion to dissolution. That but for this impression of activity on light, or what they understand by light, the elementary fire, though light is but a part of it, no motion absolutely could be in the universe,

universe, nor any thing be kept in order, but by its qualities of expansion and impulsion. That the coagulations formed out of it would be condensed into one hard impenetrable substance, collapsing for want of fire to expand it, or to bring it back to its original state, and compacted with cold, and involved in utter darkness. Neither of which circumstances, as some authors have mistaken the opinion of the Parfees, are positive qualities in matter, but negative ones consequential to the privation of heat and light. That but for the resistant *vis inertiae*, or inert principle in opaque matter, the *vis vitæ* or vital power in fire would want whereon to exercise itself in those its omnimodal operations, which, under its primary original laws, serve to give motion, and animation to all forms of being. That this conflict was instituted for the wisest and best ends, since instituted by a power incapable of any other. That it is precisely from this conflict, that all the Evil that appears to exist in the world, as well as all the Good results; but that the Evil is entirely subservient, and even instrumental to the infinitely greater Good intended by it. That the stubbornness then of the gross opaque modes of being resisting the operations

of fire, and producing all those appearances of Evil, both in the moral and material world, such as the rebellion of the flesh against the spiritual light, and the distemperatures of the elements, is an incomparably subaltern consideration to the Good, which is both apparently and presumably the consequence of the conflict occasioned by it. They make then a *toto cælo* difference between God's being the author of positive Evil, and his being the permitter of such a comparative evil, as they hold it the utmost presumption in the narrowness of the human understanding to object to it, without knowing or comprehending all the depth and wisdom of the divine purposes and meaning in it. Especially as nothing can be more clear, than that many of those seeming disorders or imperfections, of which nature (which is but another name for the great *fiat* of God throughout all his works) is so unjustly accused, appear on examination to be conducive to the harmony of the whole, and often in quality of salutary admonitions to mankind. The conclusion then deducible from this doctrine is, that since many effects in nature, which appear at the first view to be evils, are justified, as to the wisdom of their causes,
by

by their ultimately iffuing in a known superior good, it is but fair to refignedly believe, that all the reft are not one jot the lefs prefumably fo, for their ends being, moft probably for very good reafons, concealed from, or impenetrable to us. That it is therefore the utmoft rafhnefs and impiety to infer abfolute Evil from fome parts, or individuals, occasionally appearing to fuffer in the courfe of things, from thofe primordial laws, to which God has fubjected all his works in general, without excepting that part of them, man, whole Good has been, doubtlefs, though without indeed consulting him, as much confulted as was fitting it fhould be, of which God ought furely to be held a competent judge. Perfection too being the appropriate attribute of God, they think it no injuftice to man, nor that there was any obligation on that fupreme Being to create him as perfect as himfelf. Thence they abfolve Omnipotence of the abfurdity and inconfiftency of Evil being introduced into Nature by the very author of all Good, or which is nearly the fame thing, by any subordinate creature under his permiffion ; allowing no Evil actually to exift in nature, any other than an imaginary, partial, temporary one, bearing no fort
of

of proportion to real, infinite and eternal Goodness, and therefore not incompatible with it. This phantom of evil then, such as it appears in the actual state of nature, they figuratively impersonate in the eastern manner, and give to it the name of Harryman, whence the Greek word of Arimanius, as the good Principle or that of Light, they term Oroozm, or Orosmades, by which they also often understand God, for its immediately proceeding from or representing him, for whom they have the reserved appellation of Yezd, or Yesdan. The above-mentioned conflict they also believe will last till the consummation of all things, when at God's appointed time the powers of light or pure spirit, will ultimately prevail over those of darkness or opakeness, and when even the shadow of evil will be driven from the face of things.

ACCORDING to this doctrine then, the Parsees are, in a double sense, so far from being materialists, that the name of spiritualists is more adaptable to them, since they rather resolve all matter into spirit; and for that they make a perfect distinction between that spirit and God, whom they assert to be the Creator of it,

it, and whose essence, or mode of existence, they do not however pretend to comprehend or define, content with believing him the supreme Author and Governor of every thing, and different from every thing, but himself.

As to fire, they place the spring-head of it in that globe of fire the sun, by them called Mythras, or Mihir, to which they pay the highest reverence, in gratitude for the manifold benefits flowing from its ministerial omniscience. But they are so far from confounding the subordination of the servant with the majesty of its Creator and Master, that they not only attribute no sort of sense or reasoning to the sun, or fire, in any of its operations, but consider it as a purely passive blind instrument, directed and governed by the immediate impressions on it of the will of God: but they do not even give that luminary, all glorious as it is, more than the second rank amongst his works, reserving the first for that stupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

As to fire itself, exclusive of the supposed denser coagulations out of it, that go by the
name

name of matter, the Parsees opinion of it, such as I had it from one of themselves, is, as nearly as I could understand him, as follows. They very clearly distinguish its existence as fire, into two states, the one that viler one of ignition, such as in the sun, and common burning fire, quick, and with different degrees of fierceness, never without heat, though sometimes without light; the other, and necessary to feed the first, by which it is constantly attracted, like a stream rushing to an opening, is that of its primitive elementary simplicity, universally diffused as in the atmosphere, or co-existent with all substance in various proportions, as in salt, spirits, water, in short where not? capable of even giving a sensation of cold, in the too long absence or too great distance from it of the same element in ignition; elastic, but losing its elasticity in becoming fuel to that other, whether in purely that its kindled state; or that of its supplying life to the whole animal and vegetable creation, tempered by the fluids with which it mixes, and which damping it, return it effete and unserviceable, till it recovers its spring; every where diffused, in us, round us, and above us, though always impalpable and often insensible,

fible, freely permeating, saturating, and impregnating the whole terraqueous globe, to its innermost depths, operating every thing in both its states, by its presence or retreat, and in both its states essentially in incessant motion, though in different degrees, so as that nothing in the universe can be said to be in perfect rest, from its constant work of generation, preservation, or destruction; for the rest of such infinite subtilty, as to mock all grasp, all comprehension, all exactness of definition. Such too is precisely the notion Zoroaster established of its omnipresence, that one would be tempted to think he had had, from his known skill in natural philosophy, and the curious mathematical machines, for which he was so celebrated, the specific proof of it from electricity, that so modern discovery with us.

As to the soul of man, they pronounce it, without hesitation, to be generated and constituted out of this elementary fire, according to the peculiar organization of his body, of which they imagine the heart to be the principal laboratory, sending up the spirits, as the lightest secretions to the brain, where they are stopped by that soft substance, and
receiving

receiving a further coction, become thought, reflection, memory, reason, &c. through the exquisite workmanship of that part, which, as before remarked, they as far exalt above the element of fire itself, as we more esteem a watch for the value it receives from the artificers hands, than for the crude materials out of which it is formed *.

FROM the persuasion also that God would not make any thing so unmeaning, so much in vain, as so valuable a work as the soul, to have no longer a duration than this transient temporal life, and from the unperishableness of the element out of which it is made, and in which, to use our terms, they comprehend

* THIS opinion of the essence of the human soul, Boerhaave seems, in his treatise on fire, to have gone round and round, without daring to strike into it, or to express more than his suspicion that it consisted of fire, "*animam ex igne constare*" the discovery of electricity, had he then known it, would perhaps have emboldened him to a more peremptory decision. And even Sir Isaac Newton's ethereal fluid may, on examination, be found something analogous to this doctrine of Zoroaster's of fire according to which this globe, and indeed the whole universe is, strictly speaking, an Empyreum.

equally

equally the material and spiritual part of the body, only distinguished by different degrees of density and rarefaction, they deduce and firmly believe the immortality of the soul. But for how its individuality is to be preserved they do not pretend to account, nor think their ignorance lessens in the least the probability of that point, since they are sensible they cannot even account for the mode of their existence here in this world.

THEIR doctrine of rewards and punishments in the other life, they found upon the clear self-evident flambeau of reason lighted up in the human soul, which at the same time that it gives them the perception of right and wrong, of the conflict in short, to speak in their figurative stile, between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or, as in ours, between the gross flesh, and the purer spirit, inclinesthem naturally enough to the side of virtue, to constitute them guilty if they prefer that of vice, the temptation of which was given to them for an occasion of merit in combating and conquering it, and never great enough to excuse their yielding to it, if they did but justice to their gift of reason, or gave it fair play, as they

they ought to do, if but out of gratitude and respect to the Divine Power, and to follow where He leads.

As to their punishments, they do not admit material burning to be any part of them. They think the element of fire to be too pure, too noble, to be employed in the vile office of executioner. Nay, they pretend that the business of Mihir, fire, or rather divine love, is to be that of moderating the inflictions of justice on the guilty souls in the place of their suffering, which the modern Parsees paint as a dark, dreary, disconsolate region, where every thing is big with horror, pain and disgust; caverns abounding with serpents, water as thick as melted pitch, and as cold as ice. Yet just as those torments are held, and even tempered with mercy, they do not believe them to be eternal; but that after a certain time, the objects of them will be delivered and assumed into a state of bliss, though of an inferior one, to that of the good, from whom also they will be distinguished with a brand in the forehead. They think, in short, that punishments will be both in point of degree and duration, proportioned to the human frailty and finiteness,

ness, but that rewards will be infinite and unmeasurable, like the divine goodness.

SUCH was the bottom of the doctrine of Zoroaster, as it may even to this day be collected out of the traditional remains of it, amongst the adulterations it has undergone since his time, and of which I now proceed to give the best account of their origin that I could obtain.

THIS religion then of that great man was it seems too simple, too uncompounded to satisfy the gross conceptions of the vulgar, or to answer the lucrative purposes of the chief Moghs, or Magi, now known, in India at least, by the name of *Dustoors*, or directors of their ritual, not improbably derived from the Persian word *Dustoor*, signifying form or custom.

A NUMBER of years then being elapsed since the death of Zoroaster, his religion was no longer suffered to continue in its original purity. His books had been destroyed, but whether by accident, or purposely to make way for innovations that could not so well take place whilst they were existing in judgment against

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them, I could not learn from any Parsee that I consulted. However, lost they all were, and the present capital law-book, called the Zendavastaw, in the same Pehlavi language, or old Persian, was pretended to be compiled by memory from it, by Erda-viraph, one of the chief Magi. But to judge of it by the abstract or translation of it into the modern Persian, by the son of Melik-shadi, a Duffoor, who lived about two hundred and fifty years ago, and entitled Saad-dir, or the hundred Gates, that same Erda-viraph must have greatly sophisticated and new-fangled the original doctrine by interpolations, additions, and foisting in superstitions that much disfigured the ground-work of it. Thence probably so many of those absurd rites and ceremonies now in practice amongst the present Parsees, too tedious to particularize here, and so unworthy the sense of so great a law-giver; such as, for example, their laying so much stress on their cushee or girdle, as not to dare to be an instant without it; their over-acted reverence to that fire, which Zoroaster appointed to be kept in only as a constant monitor to them to preserve their purity, of which that element is so expressive a symbol; and which they carry such a length,

as

as not venturing to pray before it, without their mouth is covered with a small square flap of linnen, like a short apron, lest they should pollute the fire by breathing on it. Nor did these innovations take place with impunity. For without attributing their utter subsequent ruin and desolation to any judgment on them, it is enough to observe, that those very acts of superstition exposed them to that constructive scandal, which rendered them so odious to the Mahometans especially, and so ridiculous to other nations, of their paying a religious adoration to fire, which, the truth, is they never did or intended. But the appearances were by their own fault against them. Neither were these additions of Erda-viraph without a view to the temporal advantages of the Magi, to whom a necessity of applying for occasional purifications, not without a fee or gratuity, was made a part of them in the new Zenda-vastaw. As to this book in the Pehlavi character, whatever difficulty there might be of obtaining a copy of it in Dr. Hyde's time, there has been none lately, it being easy enough to get one, at scarce any more expence than paying for the work of transcribing. I am also assured, there are several copies of it in England.

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land. If there are any other works, as I am not assured but what there are, that go in Zoroaster's name, they are certainly none of his, there being no genuine remains of his original writing, or translations from them, but are all compiled and probably adulterated, in the same manner as the Zenda-vastaw, and very likely by the same person.

YET notwithstanding this spurious ingraftment, such was still the force of the sap of the original stock, as to hinder the fruit from being intirely spoilt; for by what even to this day appears, it is certain that no morals are purer and innocenter, either in public or private life, than those in general of the Parsees in India at least. For as to those in Persia, chiefly known there by the name of Ghebers, or Attash-perests, Fire-worshippers, I have little or no knowledge of them. There are, it is true, reports not so favorable of them, but which there are many reasons for rejecting, besides that strong one, that calumny is often added to oppression, if but for the sake of justifying it.

THERE

THERE is also great reason to think that the Souffees of Persia, so named either from their *white* garments, or that the term imports the same as the Grecian one Sophos, wise, are but a continuation of the antient Magi, altho' they outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion for peace-sake, as numbers do of the modern Sabaites, or the Drusians and Kalbians, about mount Libanus, and in the confines of Bagdat. These *Souffees* then, save appearances in respect to the Persian government under which they live : but the bottom of their doctrine is the purest mysticism, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all, and assimilate with all. This may be evidently proved by a comparison of the works of those Asiatic mystics, or contemplatists with those of our Christian ones, where the same spirit of refinement reigns congenially in both : both boasting an intimate union with the deity, and a sublime detachment from all worldly matters ; and even the fire-philosophy is in a great measure adopted by Jacob Behmen, the most celebrated of our modern mystics, and a Protestant, who almost wholly builds his visionary system of theology upon it. The principal

aim, however, of the Souffees, is to frame within themselves a mental Elyzium, by an extinction of all the passions, in sacrifice to God. In which state of Quietism they say they feel a certain pleasure, like that of the body, when after being over-heated it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They also, especially in the conduct of social life, recommend three points to observance, 1st. That of a grateful return to friendship and benefits ; 2dly, To win all hearts by generosity ; 3dly, Never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth and candor.

AND here on taking leave of this subject, I entreat the candid allowance of the reader for any obscurity bred by the abstruseness of some parts of it, and for the difficulty naturally cleaving to it, of finding terms to express ideas originally unfamiliar and new to me, and that difficulty too greatly enhanced, as before observed, by the imperfectness of communication in a broken language.

Of the GENTOO FUNERALS.

IT was at Bombay that I had occasion to see the different ways in use amongst the Gentoos, for the disposing of their dead, that of burying, and that of burning them, which last is much the commonest.

As to the first, it was on the downs, that succeed to the sandy beach of Back-bay, that I happened to be present at the funeral ceremony of a Ketteree, or rather one of a particular cast of the Ketterees, burying his wife, a young woman that seemed to be about twenty years of age. Those who accompanied the husband dug a pit exactly in the shape of a well, in one side of which there was a nich hollowed out for the corpse to be deposited in a sitting posture, with room enough for a plate of raw rice, and a jar of water by her side. As soon as the pit was ready, they put her into it, with all her cloaths and jewels, exactly as she wore them when alive. But as soon as she was placed, her husband, who had till then stood still, as a spectator, jumped into the grave, and very composedly took off all

her jewels, and brought them up with him, after which the pit was filled up. It is to be observed, that though those of the cast of the Ketterees are commonly to be buried, the Rajahs, and the great men of it, have the privilege of being burnt after their death. The wives of those who are not burnt, and have a mind to bear their husbands company, have their necks twisted round by a Bramin, on the brink of their graves, and are then interred with them.

As to the ceremony of burning, I saw it performed on the corpse of a youth of about eighteen, the son of a Banyan. The funeral pile was prepared on the beach, the father assisting at it bareheaded, with what little cloaths he had on him, coarse and torn, which is their general manner of mourning. As soon as the corpse was placed on the pile, and some prayers muttered by the attendant Bramin, fire was set to it at one of the corners, and the wood being dry, and in great quantity, it soon blazed up and consumed the body to ashes, without any noisome smell, such as however does not unfrequently happen if there is a scant of wood, or rain intervenes to damp it.

it. The ashes are gathered and thrown with ceremony into the sea, by a Bramin, who for that purpose wades into it as far as he safely can. Those who are the most bigotted and can afford the expence of it, leave orders for their ashes to be collected in an urn, sealed up, and carried to be thrown into the Ganges, to whose waters they attribute a peculiar sanctity. But what drew my attention most in the course of the above ceremony, was the behaviour of the father, who, according to the Gentoo custom of its being always the next and dearest male relation, to set fire to the pile, walked thrice round it with a sort of desperate haste, and then with his face averted, thrust his hand behind him, and gave fire to it, after which he, with the appearance of the utmost agonies, rolled himself in the sand, beating his breast, and tearing his flesh.

THIS also presents another striking conformity with the Indians, of the Romans and western Heathens, as may be seen in more than one description of their burning their
dead

dead *. This, however, and numberless other instances that might be produced of similarity of customs, religious and civil, seem to countenance the opinion before-mentioned, that the practice of the Indians had progressively penetrated so far west as Italy, in the very earliest ages, and even before Rome itself was founded. Nor will the channel of pervasion of the continent appear doubtful or obscure to those who consider the connections of Egypt with Greece, and of Greece with Italy, and how naturally the importations of the Indian customs may be traced to the expeditions of Osyris and Bacchus (whom some authors have confounded with Osyris) and others into that country. But as to the later ages, there is no doubt but that the knowledge of India was as familiar in Rome, as it may now be in England; embassies having even come from the princes of it to Augustus Cesar, after the Roman wars under his auspices had been

* ——— Subjectam, more parentum,
Aversi tenuere facem. ———

VIRG. *En. Lib. VI. Vers. 223.*

The circumstance too, of going thrice round the pile, may be met with in other authors.

pushed to the borders of it *. Besides, that there was undoubtedly a considerable trade carried on between India and the Roman dominions, through Egypt by the Red-sea, by the Euphrates in the Persian Gulph, and over land through Persia itself, which kingdom gave also passage to the first silk brought from China, then called the nation of the Seres, whence the Latin word of Sericum for silk. India, however, ceased for a long time to be so well known, from the interruption of all commerce with it, by the troubles that followed and desolated both the Roman empire, and the intermediary countries, till at length it was resumed by the Salernitans and Venetians, opening indirectly a trade with it by the way of Grand Cairo, and Aleppo, by means of the Arabs, and of the Persian Caravans, which flourished considerably, till the Portuguese Vasco Gama, in 1497, discovered the navigation to the Indian ocean, since when India itself is once more become familiar to the western world, and the trade to it more commodiously extended.

* Te, maxime Cæsar,
Qui nunc extremis Asiæ jam victor ab oris,
Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus indum.

VIRG. GEORG. Lib. II. Vers. 170.

VARIOUS

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

HOWEVER the Gentoos are comprehended and known to the Europeans under that common appellation, which is derived from the corrupt Portuguese *Lingua Franca*, generalized over the maritime coasts of India, signifying Gentiles or Heathens, and though their religion is every where at bottom the same, it is unconceivable how much the various nations of them in that vast Peninsula of Indostan differ in their civil customs and manners, not only for example on the same coast, but where they are only separated by the *Ball-a-gat* mountains, which are extremely high, and so called from *Bal* mountain, and *gatt* flat, because one part of them affords vast and delicious plains on their summit, little known to Europeans. They divide that tract of land, of which one side is called the coast of *Coromandel*, the other that of proper *Mallabar*, beginning as before noted, at *Mount-Dilly*; the whole Peninsula narrowing to the point, like a tongue, to *Cape Comorine*, which terminates that part of the continent of India to the Southward. Nor is the variety less in the weather

weather itself, which nothing more than the partition made by those hills, renders so different at the same time of the year, that the winter monsoon reigns along the Coromandel side, whilst the summer one prevails on that of Mallabar, and yet they lie all under one latitude, and in some places there are scarce a hundred leagues from the coast to the other side.

BUT as the land northern, the continent grows broader and broader, and the inland-parts in some places towards the hills are covered with immense impenetrable forrests, that afford a shelter for wild beasts of all sorts. But in that which forms the inland-boundary of the Carnatic Rajah's dominions, there is one singular species of creatures, of which I had heard much in India, and of the truth of which the following fact, that happened some time before my arrival there, may serve for an attestation.

VENCAJEE, a merchant of that country, and an inhabitant on the sea-coast, sent up to Bombay to the then Governor of it, Mr. Horne, a couple of those creatures before-mentioned as a present, by a coasting vessel, of which one captain

captain Boag was the master, and the make of which, according to his description, and that of others, was as follows.

THEY were scarcely two feet high, walked erect, and had perfectly an human form. They were of a fallow white, without any hair, except in those parts that it is customary for mankind to have it. By their melancholy, they seemed to have a rational sense of their captivity, and had many of the human actions. They made their bed very orderly in the cage in which they were sent up, and on being viewed, would endeavor to conceal with their hands those parts that modesty forbids manifesting. The joints of their knees were not re-entring like those of monkies, but salient like those of men; a circumstance they have (if I mistake not) in common with the Oran-outangs in the eastern parts of India, in Sumatra, Java, and the Spice-islands, of which these seem to be the diminutives, though with nearer approaches of resemblance to the human species. But though the navigation from the Carnatic coast to Bombay is of a very short run, of not above six or seven degrees, whether the sea-air did not agree with them, or that they could not brook their confinement,

or

or that captain Boag had not properly consulted their provision, the female sickening first died, and the male giving all the demonstrations of grief, seemed to take it to heart so, that he refused to eat, and in two days after followed her. The captain, on his return to Bombay, reporting this to the Governor, was by him asked, What he had done with the bodies? He said, he had flung them over-board. Being further asked, Why he did not keep them in spirits? He replied bluntly, that he did not think of it. Upon this the Governor wrote afresh to Vencajee, and desired him to procure him another couple, at any rate, as he should grudge no expence to be master of such a curiosity. Vencajee's answer was, He would very willingly oblige him, but that he was afraid it would not be in his power. That these creatures came from a forrest about seventy leagues up the country, where the inhabitants would sometimes catch them on the skirts of it, but that they were so exquisitely cunning and shy, that this scarcely happened once in a century.

If the above relation should be true, as there is no reason to doubt it, we have here a proof,
that

that the existence of pygmies is not entirely fabulous, as nothing can nearer approach the description of them.

As to the differences between the various nations of the Indians of these countries, they are so many, and so great, as to treat of them fully and in order would be impossible to me, both for the extensiveness of the matter, and my not being thoroughly acquainted with them. I shall only mention a few particulars.

THE Gentoos to the northward of Mount-Dilly, as the Canarines for example, and the Sundah-rajah's subjects, all follow pretty nearly the same customs as the Marattas before described, except that trade is more encouraged in their dominions. As for the Angrias and Kempfaunt, a petty Rajah on the coast, they chiefly dealt in piracy, as also the Malwans, whose capital residence was a small island on that coast, fortified quite round, where they kept their cruizers, but these, as well as Kempfaunt, were rather friendly towards the English, whose passes they respected, on account of their jealousy of Angria.

Next

Next to Kempfaut's country lies a small independent government, constitutionally subject to a woman, or petty Rannee, which is the feminine gender of Rajah. It is but lately that one of these female sovereigns, by name Debooree, who could raise about five thousand horse, which is their way of computing their strength, had so much the amazon in her, that on a son of her's being killed in battle by the famous Badgerou, the head general of the Mar-rajah's, the same who lately conquered Bassaim, and the island of Salsset from the Portuguese, she sent him a challenge in form, which Badgerou very sensibly declined, giving for answer, that the stake was not equal, for that she might gain immortal reputation by conquering Badgerou, but that he could not possibly acquire any by conquering a woman.

THE Gentoos are in their marriage-ceremonies extremely expensive, though frugal in every other article of life. Some of them will even go near to ruin themselves in the celebration of their childrens nuptials, and lavish away upon them what would be a handsome provision for the married couple when grown up. For, as I before observed, they make a

point of entering them very young into the state of wedlock. Then it is they spare no cost for feasting, ornaments of their houses, processions, music, dancing-girls, fireworks, and the like, in the pomp of which they out-vye one another, it being a matter of ambition with them to have it said, how much was expended at a son's wedding. The Bramins too come in for their share of the entertainment and presents, their function being necessary to perform the ceremony. Some of the great merchants especially at Bengall have been known to spend a lack of rupees, about twelve thousand pounds; and, besides making considerable presents, have invited the English gentlemen to an entertainment furnished at their charge exactly in the English manner, under the direction of an English steward, for which they have allowed as far as five hundred pounds. In short, there are few of them who do not in this point stretch their abilities.

THE Gentoos too, as well as many of the Orientalists in general, affect corpulence, which they imagine adds to the dignity of their port, as they strut behind a prominent belly, like the pidgeon called the Dutch cropper. To compass

pass this, some of them will drink every day large quantities of Ghee, a kind of liquid butter, preserved by being melted, and is kept in that fluid state by the heat of the climate. This they imagine breeds fat, though it is hard to conceive, that it should not rather destroy their stomach by the rankness it must produce in it. They pretend however that experience authorizes this practice. It might so, as to their intention, for any thing I saw to contradict this opinion in the size of some of those who made use of it; but I have reason to think it unwholesome even for them, if but for that gross habit of body it is supposed to produce.

THE Banyans especially at Surat and Bombay, as they eat no flesh or drink any spirituous liquors, aim at something supplemental to that heartening diet, not only in the heat of the spices, and of the long-pepper, red or green, which they eat raw, or pickled with their rice, or mix with their currees, but are fond of the drug *Assa-fœtida*, which they call Hing, and of a finer and more transparent sort of it Hingurah, both brought from Persia. The consequence however of which fetid part of their cookery is, that they smell exceeding

B b 2

strong

strong of it, not only at the mouth, but from its perspiration through every pore. They say in their defence that it is very wholesome, cordial, and a great corrector of all crudity, or indigestion.

PEPPER too they insist on being cooling, but with what truth I know not, only that it is certain, that on the Mallabar coast where it grows, and where one would think whole ages should have instructed them in its qualities, it is their constant practice to give it in great quantities, in the vehicle of congee, which is a kind of rice-gruel, and that in the most burning fevers.

MYRABOLANS they generally use in purging, and have the highest opinion of their effects, either as a preventive, or a medicine. There are various sorts of them. Some they pretend are so strong, that they will operate by barely holding one in the hand clutched. But perhaps this may be only an Asiatic exaggeration.

THEY have also a dry reed, which I think I have been told has some affinity to the Centaury
taury

taury major. They call it Creeatt, and on infusion in warm water it yields a bitter potion, which they say is a sovereign stomachic, and promoter of digestion.

OF the Sagoe, from the eastern parts of India they have no sort of opinion, insisting, that the appearance it has of a jelly, or mucilage, when boiled, is a false promise of nourishment, being essentially waterish and unsubstantial.

ALL these I have only mentioned for the sake of suggesting reflections to better judges, and without taking on me in the least to determine how far the Indians are right or wrong in their notions.

THE practice too of chewing Betel is universal over India, as well as on the coast of China. It is produced at all visits and entertainments amongst one another, and even to the Europeans, some of whom, especially the Portuguese, and very rarely indeed some of the English have adopted the habit. It is sometimes offered only in the way of civility, as a glass of wine amongst us, but in large

companies, it is brought in ready made up on Japan chargers, which they call from the Portuguese name *Bandejahs*, something like our tea-boards, and distributed round.

THE dose, if I may so call it, must necessarily consist of the three ingredients, the Betel-leaf, the Arek or Betel-nut, and Chunanam; for wanting any of these, that deep red color which results from their mixture in mastication would also fail.

THE Betel-leaf is something like that of a laurel, and grows upon poles like the hop. The leaf is full of large fibres, which with that of the middle they generally strip off with the nail. It has a hot, biting taste, not unpleasing when one is used to it.

THE Arek-nut is exactly in form and bigness like a nut-meg, only harder; marbled in the inside with white and redish streaks; insipid to the taste, and must be shredded with a kind of scissors, they are never without for that purpose, so as to wrap it up with the leaf. They use it both raw and boiled, which last they say preserves and adds strength to it.
But

But I would not advise any one to taste it green, since it affects the animal spirits so powerfully, that instantaneously as it were, those who are not used to it, fall down as in a trance; it is true they recover presently, and without any ill consequences.

THE Chunam is only a lime burnt and made of the finest shells. For use it must be wetted, exactly as if to serve for mortar, and is held in gold, silver, or metal round boxes.

To these three articles is often added for luxury what they call Cachoonda, a Japan-earth, which, from perfumes and other mixtures, chiefly manufactured at Goa, receives such improvement as to be sold to advantage when re-imported to Japan. It is made up in little round cakes of scarce the breadth of half-a-crown, but somewhat thicker. The surface is a dark dingy brown, the mass of a brittle gritty texture, and breaks white. The taste is at first little better than that of common chalk, but soon turns to a flavor that dwells agreeably upon the palate.

ANOTHER addition too they use of what they call Catchoo, being a blackish granulated perfumed composition, of the size of small shot, which they carry in little boxes on purpose. They are pleasingly tasted, and are reckoned provocatives, when taken alone, which is not a small consideration with the Asiatics in general.

THEY pretend that this use of Betel sweetens the breath, fortifies the stomach, though the juice is rarely swallowed, and preserves the teeth, tho' it reddens them; but, I am apt to believe, that there is more of a vitious habit than any medicinal virtue in it, and that it is like tobacco, chiefly matter of pleasure.

THE Gentoos too in general are fond of sweet-meats and confectionary, and have an infinite variety of sorts of them; many of them unknown to us in Europe, and some of them may doubtless be very good, though I never tasted any I could call so.

THE Rajahs and great officers amongst the Gentoos, tho' prohibited by their law to drink
spirituous

spirituous liquors, yet being of the Ketteree cast, which is far less strict than that of the Bramins and Banyans, assume to themselves a dispensing power in this point, and will indulge themselves especially in cordial drams. They may also eat fish, and some particular sorts of animal food, but as to beef, they are to the full as rigorous in their abstinence from it, as any of the strictest casts of the Gentoos whatever. They allow themselves a greater latitude in the plurality of wives and concubines; most of the Bramins and Banyans contenting themselves with one, unless she is, on competent experience, found to be barren, which is amongst them reckoned a great misfortune and reproach, but which is however very rarely the case.

THE women begin to bear children at twelve years of age, and even much younger, for I have seen them pregnant in their tenth, but then their teeming time is soon over. It is not common for them to have any after thirty, about which time, and often before that, they go entirely out of bloom, and lose all that plumpness and delicacy for which they are so justly remarkable. This is, however,
not

not to be understood of the celebrated beauties of Cashmeer, who being born in a more northern climate, and in a purer air amongst the mountains of that country, bordering on north-east Tartary, retain their charms and prolific faculty, as long at least as any European women. But these generally fall to the share of the principal Moors or Moguls.

I COULD not help observing the efficacy of a fish-diet, wherever there were fishermen's villages by the sea-side, which were constantly swarming with children, beyond what could be any where else seen. Surely then the President Montesquieu was not out in his remark, that such a diet must diametrically counter-act the intention of the ecclesiastical legislators of the Romish church, who so judiciously prescribed it by way of mortification of the flesh, or in aid of continency. Such is their infallibility!

I HAVE before mentioned the liberty of the Gentoo women, and their rarely abusing it. When too they appear abroad, or stand at their doors, they seem, by their looks at least, and their muttering, to resent it as an high affront,

front, if any one stops to view or consider them. Some of them will with a disdainful air speak out aloud, and often use these words, “Deckh na mur,” look and die, and certainly they are in general shy of any man’s but speaking to them unless it is their husbands. Was a woman seen to suffer any of the other sex, except some very near relation, to talk to her, though it were even so innocently, she forfeits her reputation, if not her cast, as much as if things had been carried to extremities. The Bramins and Banyans too, with all the seeming liberty they allow their own wives, reproach the Europeans for suffering theirs to converse familiarly with other men; and when they are told, that we entirely depend on their virtue, they shake their heads, and answer with a proverb that will sound but coarsely in our language, “That if butter is trusted too near the fire, it will hardly keep from melting.”

THE Gentoos too in general are not only tenacious of their religion, but of all their traditional customs; their manner of life having probably admitted of little or no variation from what it was in the first ages. They
live

live then almost entirely by rote, and the whole tenor of life in one, according to his respective cast, is exactly the same in every point, as that of his ancestors and cotemporaries, which makes that the description, on former travellers, of them is precisely conformable to what may be seen at this day.

It is also observed, that the Bramins and Banyans do not want for that vice of cowards, vindictiveness. Averse as they are to blood, yet they stick at nothing to compass their revenge by the ruin of their adversaries. And if incapable of effectuating it personally themselves, like women and those of a non-fighting profession, so true it is, that the human heart is every where the same at bottom, they are but the more obstinate in pursuing their point, by all the arts their inventiveness can suggest to them. They know perfectly well how to insinuate themselves with governors, and men of power, by the suppleness of their character, and the use they make themselves of to them, so as to induce them to be the instruments of their revenge. This is especially the practice of the Banyans, where they have conceived an envy or jealousy of trade, when
they

they spare for no cunning to hurt or supplant one another, and yet have so much the art of preserving appearances, as not to be suspected of the mischief they cause under-hand, and employ such refinements of policy as the most thorough European courtier would not disown.

MUCH has been said of the prevailingness of the art of poisoning in the East-Indies, but by the best information I could procure, there is neither more of that infernal practice, nor greater skill in it than in any other part of the world. I have heard it indeed said, that on the banks of the Ganges, there is produced a seed, that if once swallowed will adhere closely to the coats of the stomach, where it vegetates, and spreads its ramifications so as to destroy a man, without its being in the power of medicines to extirpate, or obstruct its growth. But before reasoning on the naturally seeming impossibility of such an effect, it would be first necessary to verify the fact, which was never in my power, and I have only mentioned it for the singularity of the invention, if, as most probable, it is one.

THE Bramins, as being the hereditary depositaries of all the literature, as well as of the religion of the country, are generally in the highest consideration, and employed by the Gentoo Rajahs as their ministers and secretaries. These last, under the title of Nagur-Bramins, or Scribes, have, in some parts, a singular way of prefixing the cypher of the number one, as the head of their letters, as some Romanists do the sign of the cross. By this they mean to represent the unity of God, which, though rather out of its place, I could not omit, in confirmation of what has been before advanced, of their simplification at bottom of all the divinities of their mythology, into the servants of one supream God. But as if all these politically ministerial Bramins had renounced the virtues of their condition, with its practical and speculative duties, they most commonly take the bent of the Court, and adopt its principles of rapine and oppression, of which they will even submit to be the instruments, and occasionally give as little quarter to their own brethren, as to any others; which spirit of theirs make a total difference between the worldly Bramins, and the religious contemplative ones, who

who remain within their sphere, and preserve all the simplicity and purity of their sequestered life.

AND yet even this corruption, reproached to the others has not hitherto entirely penetrated to the Mallabar countries, properly so called, where, tho' the Bramins are in the same or rather greater esteem, and have more the lead of affairs, they retain more of the humanity and disinterestedness of their primitive institution.

BUT indeed nothing can hardly be imagined more different in general, than the customs and manners of the Mallabars from the more northern parts, though undivided from them but by an imaginary line, beginning at Mount-Dilly, in the latitude of 12 north. Here the whole government and people wear a new face and form. The country, known by that name, comprehends a tract of land extended to Cape Camorine, and is bounded in-land by that vast chain of mountains which separates that coast from the Coromandel, and runs up through the whole Indostan, till it loses itself in the extremities of Northern Tartary, or even extends farther to the very Pole itself.

THIS

THIS mass of country then called Proper Mallabar, is divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms, or chiefships, through which are diffused nearly the same modes of religion, manners, and policy.

The highest dignitaries amongst the Bramins are called by a Mallabar name, Namboorees : next to these are the common Bramins, or Nambyars ; after whom come the Nayrs, a sort of military nobility that runs hereditary, as all professions do in the other tribes of India. It is amongst them that principally prevails that strange custom of one wife being common to a number. In which point the great power of custom is seen, from its rarely or never producing any jealousies or quarrels amongst the co-tenants of the same woman. Their number too is not so much limited by any specific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, it scarce ever happening that it exceeds that of six or seven. The woman however is under no obligation to admit above a single attachment, though not less respected for using her privilege to its utmost extent. If one of the husbands happens to come to the house when she is employed with another, he knows that circumstance

cumstance by certain signals left at the door, that his turn is not come, and departs very resignedly. It is owing however to the doubtful paternity, which such a practice must necessarily create, that inheritances descend by the females, and that the nepotism by the sister's side constantly takes place, in quality of the surest proximity of blood.

THE women of those countries are not allowed to cover any part of their breasts, to the naked display of which, they annex no idea of immodesty, which in fact ceases by the familiarity of it to the eye. Most Europeans at their first arrival experience the force of temptation from such a nudity on the foot of the ideas, to which their education and customs have habituated them. But it is not long before those impressions by their frequency entirely wear off, and they view it with as little emotion as the natives themselves, or as any of the most obvious parts of the body, the face, or hands.

In some parts of the Mallabar, this custom is however more rigorously observed than in others. A Queen of Attinga, on a woman

of her country coming into her presence, who having been some time in an European settlement, where she had conformed to the fashion there, had continued the concealment of her breasts, ordered them to be cut off, for daring to appear before her with such a mark of disrespect to the established manners of the country.

THIS Queen of Attinga is the hereditary sovereign of a dominion, in which the English have their settlement of Anjengo, towards the Cape Comorin. By the constitution of its laws, it must be always a female that governs. It is against the law for her to marry, but that heiresses of her blood may not be wanting she may choose whom, and as many as she pleases to admit to the honor of her bed. The handsomest young men about the court, generally compose her seraglio. The sons fall into the rank of the nobility; and the daughters only can pretend to the succession.

FROM such strange customs one would naturally enough conclude, that nothing but such a barbarism reigns in the Mallabar as amongst the savages of America. Yet this is far from
being

being the case. The Mallabars have in general even a certain politeness, and especially a shrewdness of discernment of their interests, which those who deal or treat with them are sure to experience. Like most of the Orientalists, they are grave, know perfectly well how to keep dignity, and are great observers of silence, especially in their public functions. They despise and distrust all verbosity in the management of state affairs. Their harangues are succinct and pathetic. A king of Travancore, for example, on two ambassadors being sent to him by the Naïck of Madura, a neighboring prince, and one of them having made a prolix speech, and the other preparing to take it up and proceed in the same manner, where the other had left off, austere admonished him in these few words, “Do not be long, “life is short.”

MOST of the Mallabars, male and female, are particularly fond of having their ears hang almost as low as their shoulders, which is effected while they are young, by boring the lobes of them, and introducing a slip of a brab-tree leaf spirally folded, and renewed in proportion as the hole grows wider and wider,

from the constant elasticity of its endeavour to recover its streightness, and when arrived at its utmost, they adorn them with ear-pendants, heavy enough one would imagine to burst the gristle; in the upper part of which they also stick jewels of value according to their circumstances.

It is on the southernmost part of this coast that, taking the benefit of the usual indulgence of the Gentoos in matters of religion, some Romish missionaries penetrated into the country, and the better to insinuate themselves put on the Bramins dress, and even adopted the string, which is chiefly their badge of distinction, worn across their shoulders, exactly like the ribbons of orders in Europe. It is composed of brown cotton threads, knotted at distances, and is what the Bramins especially are never seen without. With a view then to palm themselves upon these people for European Bramins, the Missionaries also decorated themselves therewith, but not without a previous application to the Court of Rome, where they represented it as a purely civil not a religious matter; which was undoubted false, since those tribes who wear it boast of it as a sacred institution

tution of the God Brama himself. But if they had not been profoundly ignorant of the history of their own church, they might have spared themselves the expence of such an untruth. For it is well known, that in the three first and best ages of Christianity, the clergy, such as it then was, could hardly be distinguished from the laity, unless by its greater innocence, and sanctity of manners, and a very little or at all by its habit. But the succeeding priests soon departed from that primitive simplicity, and made no scruple of adopting the garb of the Gentiles; as for example, the particular cloak of the philosophers now their episcopal pallium, nor of borrowing from the priests of the heathen gods their taudry fashions of dress, which to this day furnish the chief articles of their consecrated toilet.

ONE of these Missionaries, on an English gentleman asking him, how he durst venture himself amongst so many naked-breasted beauties, defended by no armour but that of a frail chastity, answered, that he had not been insensible to the temptation, but that his method of subduing it was by dropping melted wax on the peccant flesh, thus to correct one burn-

ing by another. On which the English gentleman put him into a confusion, equivalent to a confession of his most impudent hypocrisy, by telling him, with a very philosophical coolness, that he supposed, by his answer, he took him for a Portugeze.

THE princes and chiefs of the Mallabar dominions, and especially the Samorin of Calicut, often, on particular occasions, and festival-days, make entertainments to which the whole country round is invited; and where the quantity rather than the quality of the victuals provided inflames the charge of them, being chiefly rice, the pea-like grain of Dhall, with the sauce of turmeric, coconut, and other vegetables, all which articles are in those parts extremely cheap, and the beverage is never but pure water. They are however, literally speaking, cramming-matches; for it is not uncommon for some of the guests, tempted by the free-cost of them, to overcharge their stomachs, so as to die under it. This is treated by the rest as matter of pleasantry, and when they mean to celebrate the magnificence of any such feast, they do it by telling the numbers that burst at it.

ON

ON the back of the Samorin's dominions, and contiguous to them, lies the country of the Rajah of Sarimpatam, not that I could hear of yet subdued. It has been a constantly received law with them, never to make any but a defensive war, and even then not to kill a man though it were in battle ; instead of which they practice a singular method of fighting, which yet has not, it seems, been without its success. Their military then was trained up to a particular dexterity, at cutting off the noses of their enemies in an engagement ; and the dread of incurring this deformity, a dread equal in many to that of death, proved sufficient to keep neighbors, not much more martial than themselves, from effectually attacking them. This reminds one of the famous stratagem of Julius Cesar, at the battle of Pharsalia, riding round the ranks of his hardy rugged veterans, and directing them to aim specially at the faces of the young delicate effeminate Patricians opposed to them. “ *Miles faciem feri.*”

THE Europeans, English, French, and Dutch have lined as it were the coast of Mallabar with their fortified settlements, and factories. Some

were obtained by force, others by insinuation. But in general the powers in those parts are not displeased with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occasionally afford them against their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring to it, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is encreased. And to do them justice, it is but very rarely that it is their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private passions, prejudices, and interests mislead into engaging their employers into expensive and detrimental feuds or wars, which they represent as honorable and necessary, or under such plausible, tho' false colors, as to obtain their approbation and sanction, whilst at such a distance, it is hard for the mis-information to be discovered. Those princes who are not a match for the European artillery and discipline, on conceiving any disgust or resentment, have fallen on a way of distressing such settlements, not only by harassing them with alarms, and a war of ambushes to the very gates of their fortifications, but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their subjects with them.

It

It is true, that themselves are in the mean times not a little sufferers by the cessation of their emoluments, and even of the subsistence of their people, but this they can ofteneft dispence with for a time long enough not to be the first tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to supplant one another, and avail themselves towards it of these mis-understandings, of which they have perhaps under-hand sown the seeds, or fomented the growth.

As to the climate in general of India it is far from unwholsome, unless where particular accidents of situation disaffect the air, as the neighborhood of swamps, the dry burning sands on the sea-coast, or the freedom of ventilation intercepted by woods. The heats too are rarely such as to be intolerable, especially on abstaining from any excess in spirituous liquors, strong indigest foods, or violent exercise.

It is also remarkable, that those countries are seldom if ever afflicted with those two scourges in Nature, earthquakes and plagues.

As

As to the first, the state of the cave at Elephanta is a proof, that for at least these two thousand years, those parts have been exempt from it, though their mountainous situation near the sea-side, like that of Naples, Sicily, and Lisbon, might make such a visitation naturally expected.

AND as to plagues, I never could learn that there was any tradition, or history of any remarkable ones known there beyond certain epidemical distempers, such as the bloody fluxes chiefly incident to Europeans, and the small-pox more peculiar to the natives, and which sometimes rages somewhat in the nature of a plague, making great havock amongst them especially on the Mallabar coast.

For bloody fluxes, the Bramins suggest a very simple, but as they pretend a most infallible remedy, consisting in a strict abstinence from every thing but rice stewed dry, to which they allow no sauce of any kind whatever, and attribute to it an absorbent quality, that is excellent against that acrimony which preys on the entrails, and breeds the disorder. For
drink

drink they give nothing but water, corrected by a very moderate quantity of cinnamon or Cassia-lignum. As to the Tellicherry-bark, long boasted as a specific in this distemper, it seems to have lately greatly declined in practice, probably from experience having shown that it was not so much to be trusted to as was imagined.

THERE is also known on the Mallabar-coast chiefly, a most violent disorder they call the mordechín, which seizes the patient with such fury of purging, vomiting, and tormina of the intestines, that it will often carry him off in thirty hours. For this the physicians amongst the natives know no more effectual remedy than the actual cautery applied to the soles of the feet, the powerful revulsion of which rarely fails of a salutary efficacy.

THE Barbeers is another dreadful illness of the paralytick kind, that attacks mostly the Europeans, and deprives them of the use of their limbs. The natives, with what reason I know not, say that it is most commonly brought on by venereal excesses, having irrecoverably exhausted the radical moisture, and
spirits

spirits of life. The Portuguese apply to such as are in this condition, from that circumstance, the term of *Esfalfados*. But I am far from clear, that by it they mean all who are afflicted with the Barbeers, which, not denying but it may sometimes be the effect of that cause, is not, however, always so, being sometime produced by colds caught by lying out exposed to the dew, or night-air, and by the consequences of fevers, and especially by being over-physicked for venereal complaints.

THE Mallabar physicians particularly are of opinion, that it is unwholesome to be out in the air at Sun-rise, for that at that time it gives a certain life and activity to the noxious damp vapors of the atmosphere, risen during its absence, but which its power encreasing with its ascent, conquers and dispels.

CHRONICAL disorders, such as the gout, rheumatism, stone, consumption, &c. are rarely known in those parts, and indeed none of the distempers, more particular to them, are so frequent or general as to form a just objection to the venturing into that climate. Those who live any thing regular, or who listen to
the

the preventive advice of such as are acquainted with the nature of it, rarely incurring more danger from it, than what they might find in their native one.

SUMMARY REFLECTIONS *on the*
TRADE *of* INDIA.

THE trade to, from, and in India, has so long been carried on in an established known rote of practice, that the public could certainly learn nothing new from any particular accounts of it into which I might descend. I shall only then hazard here such reflections as occurred to me on the view of it, in its totality.

It has been said, speciously indeed but falsely, that the returns from India, consisted chiefly either in articles of pure luxury, or such as tended to discourage the industry of our native manufacturers, by interfering with the produce of it, from their being to be afforded cheaper; and that these articles, ruinous in either sense, were yet further so by their not being to be had but in exchange for
bullion,

bullion, of which they consequently impoverished the nation, and for so few of our home-manufactures, as did not form an object considerable enough to counter-balance the exportation of the other.

To this heavy accusation has been opposed a very solid defence, consisting of proofs, that admitting of no falsification, admit of no doubt, proofs from accounts easily verifiable, of the balance of national advantages being greatly in favor of that trade.

Nothing too is plainer, than that manufactures or employment being wanting to the industrious or useful subjects is so far from being the case, that of these there is rather wanting a sufficient number of them to the work that might be found for them at reasonable rates, and to the demands of the Government for the service and defence of their country.

Whoever will enter more than superficially into this disquisition, will find, that that pretended super-abundance of subjects, having reasons to complain of the labor of the Indians defrauding them of the livelihood to be got
by

by theirs, might be more profitably, to the Public and to themselves, employed in branches that would encrease the national wealth and power, such as the more thorough cultivation of our old colonies, foundation of new and useful ones, improving of agriculture, and especially strengthening that great national bulwark our marine, to which the complement of hands is felt, at its greatest need, so sensibly wanting; points rather preferable to many of the arts and trades, purely dependent on luxury, and which at once soften and unman those who exercise them, and those for whose sake they are exercised.

WHAT first gave rise to the idea in me, was the observation of the wretchedness and insignificance to the defence of a country, of those so much envied artists, the whole tribes of weavers, callico-stainers, and in short all the retainers to the looms of India, whose incessant and ingenious industry never scarce extricates them out of the depths of poverty, whilst it at the same time disqualifies them for any other effectual service, being scarcely more of men than the machinery of their fabrics. Whatever advantage is made of their industry
is

is entirely engrossed by the Banyans, Chittys, or Head-merchants, men as effeminate as themselves, and in whose coffers, generally speaking, all that money stagnates that is not invested in the usurious advances which are so hard upon labor, by unconscionably screwing down its price; the which being their great point in trade, lessens the commendation due to their spirit of it, lucre being their sole object, and the public good quite out of the question.

STILL it will be said, that such manufactures not only hinder the exportation of money, but actually bring it into their country. This is too evidently true to be denied, and so far they are a commendable advantage, even though susceptible of being abused. But surely it is not ultimately a less one for the nation that deals with them, or that even furnishes them with bullion, if such a trade is carried on with a moral certainty of an outlet or market for the returns, that will reimburse it with profit; at the same time that those of its subjects, who might otherwise be employed in producing the like manufactures at a much dearer rate, should, by a sound and comprehensive policy, be distributed into the many branches

branches in which they are actually wanted, to answer much more valuable ends, in the increase of the protective force of the nation, and of its power to extend its trade, navigation and influence. Such a reservation then of subjects, would be only preferring a greater good to a lesser one, to which too it would be far from giving the exclusion ; as it is far from implying so gross an absurdity as that of discouraging home-manufactures, or from meaning any thing more than a just modification, and choice of them. For in the choice of which to encourage most lies the great stress of policy, and these incontestably are those classes of mechanics who give to the crude materials produced by this country, such as wool, iron, tin, lead, &c. that additional value of their manual labor, which is so much net profit to the nation. Imports then that interfere with such, doubtless deserve to be discouraged, and we see that they actually are so. But as to those articles appropriate to India, grown into a kind of necessaries by custom, and to which the reproach of luxury can only lie in declamation, the revenue might probably find its account as much in even the quantity of their imports being increased, as in the exor-

bitance of the duties on them. If too more enlarged and comprehensive notions were to take place, under the sanction of proper regulations, the West Indies, and our American colonies, might receive a greater benefit than they do from the East India trade, still preserving to England its right and advantage of being the centrical point of union of both. Thus if, by any means or device, the commerce with India could afford an augmentation of its number of shipping, the marine of the kingdom would receive a proportionable increase, and employ the greater number of hands, inured to the change of climates, and the experter for those voyages of a long run, which would be a far preferable consideration, to that of their being sunk in such of the lower and more slavish branches of the mechanics, as only procuring them a bare livelihood, rob spheres of occupation, fitter for freemen and Englishmen, of their requisite number of hands, who in them would be more essentially serviceable to the state, in the advancement of the live-force, navigation, and truly profitable trade of the kingdom. I say truly profitable, because even trade itself may be ruinously diversified and extended, if the other principal
objects

objects of government are neglected, or even not preferred, and a nation languish with faintness, amidst those riches which ought to procure its strength and happiness. But this can never be the case, if the increase of the protective power, which has so just a right to be supported by the revenue from trade, is at the same time duly consulted, and so ordered as to keep pace with it. No folly being greater than that of exalting the mercantile above the military spirit, both being of such mutual benefit, that they ought never to be considered in distinct views. But if it was necessary to sacrifice the object of one of them, it undoubtedly ought to be that of trade, which must decrease in its value in proportion to its decrease of security, and because the safety and honor of a nation are points preferable to a momentary profit. But the truth is, that there is no necessity of neglecting either, and that it must be a wretched policy that does not sufficiently take care of both, and make both serviceable to each other.

THE expedience of which management stands no where more fully illustrated than in the East-Indies, where it is scarce possible to

carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, dishonourable, disadvantageous footing, unless a state of force procures a respect to, or confidence in our arms ; the Country-governments of India being constitutionally such, as scarce ever to neglect occasions of oppression or plunder, where they have no opposition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever solidly bestow their countenance or friendship, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their despotism so often to expose them. The merchants too especially prefer dealing with that nation, which they see the most powerful and able to shelter them from the tyranny of their own country-men. Thence their predilection of our Government to live under, and to which they are of such notable benefit. As mere traders, the English would never have got the footing they had, if they had not added to that character the profession of arms both at land and sea. This is so true, that the special privileges, fortified settlements, and favorable grants obtained from the several Princes of India, will, conformably to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war, when its victories

stories over the Portugueze, who sunk as fast as we rose, gave it such a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it; and, to say the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extruction of our commerce has since subsisted: I say principally only, because no doubt our frank, unaffectedly generous national character, amidst all the faults of some of its subjects in power there, I can safely aver, without any partiality, also once bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favorable comparison with the silly, senseless, sanguinary bigotry of the Portugueze, with the unsocial dryness, imperious conduct, and keenness after gain of the Dutch, and the super-refined designing politeness of the French. And yet the advantages of these last over us in the affair of Madrafs, did not a little shake our estimation in those parts, no people on earth being more apt to be dazzled and influenced by success than the Orientalists, and those of India above all.

THE Dutch too especially insult us, in their insinuations to the Country-governments, of our inferiority, in that we are not possess of a head place of arms, such as Batavia is to them, from whence our operations might be
more

more timely, and more effectually applied to any exigence, than as there now exists a necessity for waiting for orders and aids from Europe. They do not consider, or at least do not add a candid confession of the treacherous and cruel supplantment of us, in a time of full peace, in the Spice-islands, which are the mines, from whence they draw the means of supporting the extraordinary charges of that their boasted capital place in India, a competition with which, our trade, circumstanced as it has been since that fatal epoch, could never well afford ; though it is not impossible but it might have gained a much more considerable extension, if either the settlements we actually have, had been better cultivated, useful new ones had been formed, or other channels of commerce explored, or if, in short, more attention had not been given to the temptation of momentary profits and present dividends, than to the founding of permanent establishments upon greater views, but of which the immediate requisite expence appeared to be as so much lost in the distant futurity of the returns. This narrow consideration it is, which combined with a certain generally prevailing indolence, and the facility of humoring that indolence, since

since the opening of those fatal gulphs, the Public funds, which, swallowing up the very aliment and support of Trade, have set up a class of men called the moneyed interest, to the destruction of the commercial one, upon the produce of whose stock, which itself has depauperated, it projects lazily to live; all these, I say, have more contributed to extinguish the antient English spirit of discovery and extension, than any certainty that could with reason be pleaded, of there being nothing further to be found or hoped for from it.

F I N I S.



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E R R A T A.

- P. 32. L. 3. For *the* read *these*.
P. 77. L. 11. For *need* — *needed*.
P. 88. L. 17. For *Loam* — *Cement*.
P. 99. L. 3. For *Sultrest* — *Sultriest*.
P. 156. L. 5. For *their* — *they*.
P. 288. L. 14. For *confider* — *consider them*.
P. 241. L. 19. For *ate* — *eaten*.
P. 257. L. 19. For *Parotry* — *Parrotry*.
P. 303. L. 3. For *Saddle-box* — *Saddle-bow*.
P. 311. L. 16. For *their* — *those*.
P. 321. L. 7. For *Hanserit* — *Hanscrit*.
P. 324. L. last of the Note. For *Maximus Syrius* — *Tyrius
Maximus*.
P. 325. L. 25. For *illuminates* — *illuminatest*.

Grose, John H.

A voyage to the East-Indies with observations on various parts there

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